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DERRY AND ENNISKILLEN

IN THE YEAR 1689:

THE STORY OF SOME

Famous Battle-Fields in Ulster.

By THOMAS WITHEROW,

PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY IN MAGEE COLLEGE, LONDONDERRY.

Rem coalescere concordia posse.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.

WILLIAM MULLAN AND SON,
LONDON AND BELFAST.
1879.

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TO

THE REV. WILLIAM M'CLURE,

SENIOR MINISTER OF DERRY,

HONORARY MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF

NEW HAMPSHIRE,

AND A RELATIVE OF DAVID CAIRNS,

ONE OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED DEFENDERS OF THE

CITY IN 1689,

THIS NARRATIVE

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY HIS FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

SOME men have been tempted at times to wish that the great events of 1689 were blotted out of the History of Ireland. Even if it could be done, that would be a rather unmanly way of dealing with facts. Far better is it, as it seems to me, to look them in the face, and to know what actually occurred during that celebrated period of our annals. This is a contribution to that end.

There are in existence four original accounts of the Siege of Derry, and two of Enniskillen, all of them written by men who took an active part in the scenes which they describe. Few now living have enjoyed the opportunity of reading all of these; and yet the least valuable of them preserves something of interest not recorded in any of the others. It has been the design of the present writer to combine in one consecutive story the most important facts contained in all the original documents, as well as to weave into the narrative a variety of other details given in contemporary pamphlets, which have now for years fallen out of sight.

For the use of these documents I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Killen, of Belfast, who, in the kindest and most handsome manner, gave me free access to the valuable collection in the Assembly's College.

It is a well-known offence against literary taste to overload a history with official papers, more especially with official papers already in print. At the same time, it would be matter for regret to omit any of the existing documents, in which the brave men who defended Derry and Enniskillen give expression to their opinions, their feelings, and their circumstances, in their own words. In this case, the author has compromised the matter, by inserting in the text the documents most necessary to the story, and transferring the others to the Appendix; thus taking care that the reader will not require to refer for any of them to other books, which might not be at hand. By this arrangement, authenticity is given to the narrative, and its value to the reader enhanced.

The writer does not conceal that he writes from an entirely Protestant stand-point, but he has endeavoured to look at the matter with the eye of a historian, and to deal out even-handed justice to all. The courage and the gallantry were not all on one side; nor were all the mistakes and errors, and cruelty and crime, on the other. To approve what is right and good and generous, and to condemn what is cruel and mean and wicked, in ourselves as well as in others, is the duty of a historian; and we have tried to do our duty, we trust, in candour and in love. No one is more conscious that it is no time now to revive the bitter feuds and enmities of the past; and should the writer, in expressing his opinion freely in regard to men and things, have unconsciously said a word to excite a feeling of bitterness in any man towards his neighbour, it would be to him an unfailing source of regret. Such a feeling is not in his own heart. He would much rather teach his countrymen, if he could, to look at the past in a calm and kindly spirit, to rise superior to the passions of an evil age, and henceforth to rival each other, not in fields of blood and war, but in the arts of industry and peace. He is the true man and the brave, who fears God, honours the Throne, obeys the law, respects the feelings of his neighbour, and does the most to promote the happiness and good of every inhabitant of his native land.

Magee College, Oct. 31st, 1873.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

SINCE the first edition was published, the Author has had an opportunity of examining two original authorities, which he had not seen before. For one of these, the *Diary of Captain Ash*—now a tract so rare as to need republication—he is indebted to H. Tyler, Esq., of Limavady. The other, *Negociations de M. Le Comte D'Avaux en Irlande*, he owes to the kindness of Lieutenant-Colonel Conyngham, of Moneymore. The latter is specially valuable, as being the correspondence of an intelligent man who came with King James to Ireland in March, 1689, attended at his Court as French Ambassador up till February, 1690, knew thoroughly all that occurred on the Irish side during the interval, and whose business was to report it faithfully to the French Government. Advantage has been taken of these works to bring into the narrative anything contained in them bearing on the subject and likely to interest the reader; and everything the Author can do has been done, to make this edition more accurate and complete than the former. The acceptance which the first issue has obtained from

Protestants, and even from Roman Catholics, makes him still more desirous to present the present generation with a record on whose truth they can rely, and which may prove, he hopes, a not unworthy memorial of the bravest of the brave.

Magee College, Nov. 17*th,* 1875.

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CONTENTS.

CHAP. PAGE
I. How Matters Stood in 1688 - - - - 1
II. The Shutting of the Gates - - - - 22
III. The Investment - - - - - - - 52

IV. The Siege :—

First Sally - - - - - - 118
Surrender of Culmore - - - - 121
Skirmish at Pennyburn - - - - 124
Battle at the Windmill - - - - 127
Murray's Father - - - - - 129
Fight at Creggan - - - - - 130
Council of Fourteen - - - - 132
Second Battle at the Windmill - - - 134
The Bombs - - - - - - 137
The Boom - - - - - - 141
The Boat-fight - - - - - 143
General Rosen - - - - - 146
Governor Mitchelburn - - - - 148
Attempt at Communication - - - 149
Lord Clancarty - - - - - 152
Rosen's Stratagem - - - - - 153
Hamilton's Proposals - - - - 155
The Jacobite Camp - - - - - 164
Hardships of the Garrison - - - 167
Talk of Surrender - - - - - 172
Hopes from Inch - - - - - 177
The Last Fight - - - - - 178

CHAP. PAGE
V. The Relief - 181
VI. The Defence of Enniskillen - 192
They show Fight - 194
Governor Hamilton - 197
Interview with Mountjoy - 199
Preparations - 201
Sir Gerard Irvine - 208
William and Mary Proclaimed - 209
Cavan in Retreat - 212
Siege of Crom - 214
Galmoy's Perfidy - 216
Lundy's Aid and Counsel - 217
Trillic and Augher - 220
Break of Belleek - 221
The Fort at Enniskillen - 223
Raid into Cavan and Meath - 223
Visit to Omagh - 225
Failure to relieve Derry - 226
Battle of Belturbet - 228
News from the Fleet - 230
Duke of Berwick - 231
Visit to Kirke - 234
Lisnaskea - 237
Newtonbutler - 241
Conclusion - 248
VII. Thanksgiving and Congratulations - 251
VIII. Governor Walker - 272
IX. The Reward - 313
X. Reflections - 335
Appendix of Papers - 356

DERRY AND ENNISKILLEN.

CHAPTER I.

HOW MATTERS STOOD IN 1688.

THE ruler that is bad for his own age, is often best for the ages after. Prerogative wisely used, confirms power and prolongs serfdom; prerogative overstrained, not only supplies the opportunity, but communicates the impulse, which inactive humanity requires to induce it to resist despotism and stand up for freedom. Our great national illustration of this truth is presented in the kings of the House of Stuart. Had they acted with more judgment and discretion, we might to-day, notwithstanding all our civilization and culture, have been living under the rule of a monarch as irresponsible as the Czar; but it so happened that their ill-timed and incautious assertion of their rights administered a series of provocations to the nation, which stimulated it to seize and to secure the prize of religious and civil liberty. Of their tyranny, our fathers, over whom they ruled, were either the instruments or the victims; but of their folly and madness, posterity is now reaping the rich reward.

Divine Providence is thus ever employing the most unlikely means to work out great ends. Life springs from the ashes; oppression gives birth to freedom; and evil is the mother of good.

The natural reluctance to resist authority, so characteristic of the British people, none of the Stuarts did so much to destroy as James II., who ascended the throne on the 6th of February, 1685. He entered on possession of power by making very fair professions; but they were scarcely made till, with the faithlessness of his race, he set himself deliberately to break them. Untaught by the sad history of his own father, and assuming, in his folly, that bishops and clergy who preached the Divine right of kings, and that people who submitted to be taught the duty of passive obedience, would all alike sit quietly under any amount of provocation and injustice, he took frequent opportunity to show that he was independent of Parliament, and that in these kingdoms his will was law. Not only so, but he wantonly and deliberately stirred an element of discord which the unfortunate prince, his father, had not ventured in his greatest infatuation to touch, at least in England. He himself was a Roman Catholic,—not of the genial and liberal, but of the most bigoted and intolerant type; and, at a time when the public mind was entirely unprepared for such a thorough religious revolution, he determined to subvert the Protestant establishment, and to restore the Romish Church to the position of power and grandeur which it enjoyed in England before the Reformation.

It is not impossible that a king of such decided principles might have succeeded in the two great objects at which he aimed, had he possessed ability and discretion. But James ran too fast—so fast that his subjects, and even his own friends, could not keep up with his headstrong and giddy pace. He could not be content to sow seed, and then wait with patience till the fruit would grow. He took, with unparalleled rashness, the boldest and most offensive steps, and thought it strange that the results which he desired were not immediately attained. In the exercise of his own prerogative, he virtually annulled the penal laws, issued a declaration in favour of universal liberty of conscience, and declared every subject, irrespective of religion, eligible to any office of emolument or honour under the Crown; measures which, had he carried in a constitutional way, for the general good, and not for ulterior private objects of his own, would have deservedly won for him the approbation of after ages. But even a right thing is not to be done in a wrong way; and the cause of true toleration was retarded for many a year, mainly in consequence of this unwise attempt to bestow it by royal prerogative, in avowed defiance of the law. Had the nation been ignorant of the motive that actuated the king in granting a toleration which he himself would probably have been the first to revoke, as soon as his designs were served, it could not have remained ignorant very long, when it saw that Roman Catholics, although then but a mere handful of the English population, were thrust into the corporations of towns, and nominated to the highest posts in the universities, by the mere exercise of the royal will, and in defiance of the disabilities imposed by Parliament. To make himself an absolute ruler, and to restore the Romish religion to its old supremacy, in defiance alike of Parliament and people, were the well-understood objects at which the monarch aimed.

The rashness and rapidity of the means that he took in order to effect his designs, alarmed even the Pope. In open disregard of the law, which forbade diplomatic intercourse between England and Rome, the Earl of Castlemaine was sent as ambassador from James, with instructions "to reconcile the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland to the Holy See, from which they had for more than an age fallen off by heresy." Innocent XI. knew human nature very much better than the King of England; he knew that the ecclesiastical movements commenced by James were driven forward with a rapidity which is seldom a sign of what is permanent and enduring, and he was aware that even his success would strengthen the influence of Louis of France; an influence which it would have pleased His Holiness better to see humbled than promoted. The English ambassador, therefore, was received at the Vatican with cold civility; and, although he succeeded in obtaining several audiences, and was treated with all the consideration that good manners required, no sooner did he commence to introduce the business of his embassage than the Pope was always attacked with a fit of coughing, which continued so long that the ambassador felt it necessary to rise and take his leave. Several times he was admitted to an audience, but as often as he began to speak of business, most unaccountably the fit of coughing returned to His Holiness. At last some one told Innocent that the English ambassador was threatening to go home, seeing that he had failed to secure the object of his visit. "Well, let him go," said the Pontiff, with all the cool indifference of conscious superiority both to him and his master; "and tell him, it were fit he rise in the cool of the morning, that he may rest himself at noon; for in this country it is dangerous to travel in the heat of the day."* If James, therefore, brought himself into trouble on account of his efforts in regard to the Romish religion, it cannot be justly said that it was owing to any influence or urgency brought to bear upon him by the Pope.†

It was the bold and illegal steps which the King did not scruple to use in order to secure the two grand objects at which he aimed, that first opened the eyes of the English people to the danger which threatened their religion and their liberties. The Scottish people, by sad experience, had their eyes opened long before. Ever since the Restoration in 1660 the two royal brothers had been engaged in the most unscrupulous efforts to force upon them a Church system which they disliked; and the bloody persecution through which they passed for refusing to submit to Government dictation in matters of faith, had sowed in them the seeds of hatred to the reigning house, and made them associate with the name of the Stuarts everything unprincipled, tyrannical, and base. North and South Britain were, therefore, quite agreed that something should be done to remedy the state of things that existed, and to protect the interests that were now in such imminent peril.

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* Harris, *Life of William III.*, Book iv., p. 73.

† The Pope, it is certain, gave no encouragement to the attempt of James to regain his throne; thus Louis XIV. writes to Avaux on the $\frac{13}{3}$ April, 1689:—"I wish that the letters which he (James) has written to all the princes of Europe to inform them of his arrival in Ireland, would procure for him the supplies of money that he asks from them; but *the Pope sets so bad an example to all the other Catholic princes* that we can scarcely hope that they, any more than he, will do what might displease the enemies of the said King" (James). Again, under date the 27th of the same month, the King writes:—"The Pope has taken the resolution of *not giving any help* to the King of England" (James), and he thinks that the further sojourn of James's ambassador at the papal Court "will serve but to harden His Holiness *in the ill-will* (*la mauvaise volonté*) that he shows." Again, M. de Croissy, one of Louis' Ministers, writes to Avaux, under date May $\frac{18}{8}$, 1689, that "there is nothing to hope from the obstinacy of the Pope in favour of the enemies of France."

It so happened that the King's eldest daughter, the Princess Mary, was married to her cousin William, Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of Holland, who, by his mother, was grandson of Charles I. of England, and by his father was great-grandson of the celebrated William the Silent, the first prince in Europe who avowed and practised those principles of toleration which lie at the foundation of all religious freedom. She and her husband were known to be attached to the Protestant religion, and to take a deep interest in the affairs of England. Persons whose political or religious opinions made them in any way obnoxious to the English Court, had for some time past been in the habit of crossing over to the Hague, and putting themselves under the protection of William. From daily intercourse with these refugees, the Prince was kept constantly informed in regard to the state of public feeling in Great Britain, and of the course that matters were likely to take. He knew that civil liberty was constantly infringed upon by the King's disregard alike of the wishes of his subjects and of the laws of the land; that the Protestant religion itself was in imminent danger; that no hope could be entertained of the next heir to the crown, because the

Prince of Wales was an infant, and that if he survived he would be certain to be educated in the opinions, religious and political, of his father; that the nation was on the point of another civil war, perhaps more fierce and bloody than that which brought Charles I. to the scaffold; and that there was every probability that the sceptre might now pass away for ever from a family which had been twice tried and twice found wanting. Considerations such as these made him listen with favour to the inducements held out to him, as the nearest Protestant relative of the reigning family, to interfere in the affairs of the nation by force of arms, and to assume the direction of the Government. Nor can it be supposed that he was indifferent to the consideration that his position as King of England would at once place him at the head of the Protestant interest in Europe, and give him scope for carrying out more effectively the grand aim of his life—to check the influence of Louis XIV., and to set limits to the great military power of France, which even then threatened to overshadow the nations.*

The result was, that the Prince unfurled his flag, emblazoned with the scroll, "THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND THE LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND," underneath which was the motto of his house, "I WILL MAINTAIN;" and on the 5th of November, 1688, landed with a small army of 15,000 men at Torbay, in the south of England. The part of the country where he landed had suffered severely for the help which it had given to Monmouth's rebellion some short time before, and the people were at first reluctant to commit themselves by joining his standard; but in course of a fortnight the tide of popular feeling began to rise; noble after noble joined him; town after town declared for him; and one military troop after another went over to his side. Everywhere the populace received him with acclamations, and, without having to fight a battle, he advanced to London by slow marches, as if at the head of a triumphal procession. King James, deserted by all, finally left London on the 18th of December, and was permitted to withdraw from the kingdom. At three o'clock of the day on which James left Whitehall, William entered London, and took possession of St. James's. A Convention of Lords and Commons soon after met, voted that King James had abdicated the Crown and had left the Throne vacant, and accepted William and Mary as King and Queen of England. They were proclaimed formally in London on the 13th of February, 1689; and, so soon as the necessary forms could be complied with, Scotland followed the example of the sister nation.

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* So much was this felt throughout Europe to be of vital importance, that the Pope himself sympathised with the invasion, and the Catholic Court of Austria ordered public prayers to be offered for the success of William's expedition to England.—*Avaux*, p. 170.

Great Britain was thus practically unanimous in accepting the change of government; but with Ireland it was different. The majority of the Irish people preferred James to William, took up his quarrel, and made it the occasion for a new attempt to regain their independence.

Forty years of peace and industry under English rule had made the island prosperous in a social point of view, but had not extinguished the old grudge which the nation entertained to the English Government, in virtue of finding themselves a conquered people, and treated as a conquered people, in their own land. Domestic rule had proved itself inferior to foreign rule in the power of promoting the interests of the nation; but men were constantly coming in contact with the hardships of the latter, and had forgotten the still greater hardships of the former, then removed out of sight for at least a century, and known, not from personal experience, but as a matter of history.* Not only so, but from the time of Queen Elizabeth, the native Irish had seen the Protestant Episcopal clergy elevated by their English rulers to honour and power, and their own clergy proscribed and degraded in every possible way. Every office of honour and emolument in the country was filled by Protestants. The Viceroy was the English and Protestant representative of an English and Protestant Government; the House of Peers consisted of Protestants; the House of Commons consisted of Protestants; † the magistrates were Protestants; the judges were Protestants; the officers in the army were Protestants. In a word, every civil and military office under the Crown was filled with Protestants. Roman Catholics, as such, were not, indeed, excluded; but as every official to whom the oath of supremacy was tendered was bound to take it, they were sure to have it tendered, and were excluded as a matter of course.

The Roman Catholic Irish felt, and could not but feel, that this was a heavy yoke. They were convinced that the laws were made by Protestants in the interests of Protestants, and with the design of exterminating their religion, degrading their priesthood, and retaining themselves in a condition of ignorance, poverty, and serfdom. Most of them spoke a different language from that of their rulers, and were thus in a great degree removed beyond those civilizing influences which slowly and silently percolated through the various strata of society in other parts of the British dominions. The result was that the great majority at the time of which we speak were no better than barbarians, and seemed to regard rebellion and war as the only remedy for the grievances of which they complained. For five hundred years this remedy had been tried at ever-recurring intervals, but always with this result, that the grievances became more numerous and intolerable at every new attempt to remove them. Ever unable to realize the fact that Ireland, in the grasp of the stronger nation, is like a child struggling with a giant, they rushed blindly into rebellion, and then when disaster came, as in due time it was sure to come, there was nothing for it but to submit to some new and heavier penal burden than any which they had been yet called upon to bear.* For these reasons the native Irish, as most people in their circumstances would do, regarded themselves as the victims of persecution, and were only too ready to grasp at any change, however shadowy, which promised them emancipation from a yoke which they hated in their hearts.*

---

* "Though they do not live so well under their own nation, yet they have a natural aversion to the English: that to destroy them they care not what miseries to expose themselves to, or who comes to govern over them."—*Ireland's Lamentation*, p. 6.

† "In fact, only one Papist had been returned to the Irish Parliament since the Restoration."—Macaulay, *Hist.*, ch. vi.

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* Froude, speaking of the Settlement after the Restoration, says:—"As a total consequence of their rebellion, the Irish Catholics who, before 1641, had owned two-thirds of the good land of Ireland, and all the waste, *were now reduced to something less than one-third.*"—*The English in Ireland*, vol. i., p. 153.

When a king of their own faith, in the person of James II., ascended the Throne, when he appointed an Irish nobleman in the person of Lord Tyrconnel to fill the office of Lord-Deputy, and when he lost the confidence of his English subjects by his zeal in attempting to restore the Roman Church to its old supremacy, the Roman Catholic Irish naturally took his part. But they never concealed the fact, that if James had been an Irish Catholic, or a French Catholic, or anything but an English Catholic, he would have been more acceptable to them, and they would have been more hearty in his support. Had his restoration to the Throne of England been the only object that presented itself to them, it is questionable whether they would have ever drawn a sword on his behalf. What they wanted was entire separation from England, an independent state under the protection of France, the confiscated estates taken from the Protestants and restored to the old proprietors, and the Roman Church put in its old position of ascendancy. Even if James should prove victorious and regain his crown, they knew that only some of these objects would be attained, and that, even under a Catholic sovereign, Ireland would still occupy a position subordinate to its powerful neighbour, and lie at the feet of England.† For this reason their support of James was never as hearty as would have been their support of some Irish prince—an O'Neill or an O'Donnell—who had unfurled the flag of opposition at once to England and to Protestantism.[*] Still, the bond of a common faith bound them to James, and the chance of regaining the lost estates and of securing the re-establishment of their religion, seemed to them, notwithstanding every drawback, an advantage not to be despised. For the same reason, they looked more leniently than otherwise they would have done upon his attempts to attain to arbitrary power, though it is certain none would have complained more bitterly had the arbitrary power of the Crown been put in exercise against themselves. Loyalty to a throne and to a family could not have been a very predominating sentiment among a people, many of whom were proud to tell that their fathers for many generations had fought against that very family and throne. It was considerations purely religious and social which prompted the native Irish to declare for King James. In this they were joined by a few Episcopalians; some of them clergymen, who had inherited from Commonwealth times a horror of rebellion, and had preached up in their sermons the duty of passive

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* "Les Irlandois sont ennemis irreconciliables des Anglois, en sorte que si on leur lachoit la main ils esgorgeroient en peu de temps ceux qui sont icy."—*Avaux to Louis*, from Dublin, $\frac{\text{25th March.}}{\text{4th April.}}$, 1689.

† "The Irish know also that the English who are near the king,

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even the Catholics, are their greatest enemies, and the most opposed to the regaining of their liberty."—*Avaux to Louis*, from Dublin, $\frac{\text{25th March}}{\text{4th April}}$, 1689.

[*] "Some of them moving him for leave to cut off the Protestants, which he returned with indignation and amazement, saying, 'What, gentlemen, are you for another Forty-one?' Which so galled them that they ever after looked on him with a jealous eye, and thought him, though a Roman Catholic, too much an Englishman to carry on their business."—Leslie's *Answer to King*, p. 125; *Excidium Macariæ*, sec. 18.

obedience under all circumstances ; and others of them laymen, who filled civil and military offices under the Crown, and with whose services the King was not as yet very well able to dispense.

The great bulk of the Protestant population, whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian, felt, however, no sympathy either with the opinions or the objects of their Irish fellow-countrymen. Most of them were the descendants of English and Scottish colonists, who, since the beginning of the century, had been in the habit of coming over the channel to reside in Ireland. The design of the English Government in the Plantation of Ulster was to introduce the arts of peaceful life among a people rent hitherto with feuds and factions, and among whom the growth of civilization had been constantly checked by repeated outbursts of rebellion and civil war ; but the colonists themselves came to settle in the country with no higher philanthropic or political motive than Irish emigrants now go to reside in the prairies of America, or in the deserts of Australia, or in the manufacturing towns of England and Scotland—simply to improve their means of life. The first colonists found Ulster covered with bogs, and swamps, and forests ; its hovels tenanted by a thin and wretchedly poor population ; its fortresses garrisoned by English soldiers; the land everywhere lying waste ; no town greater than a village; no agriculture, no manufacture, no trade—the desolations of war superadded to the rude wildness of primeval nature. Some of the settlers were civil or military servants of the Crown, who had obtained from the King a grant of waste land on condition that they would build, and plant, and reside upon it ; others were Court favourites, who had influence enough to procure for themselves some vast tract of forest and moor that they designed to make the family estate; others were men of knowledge and piety, who were simply seeking for some quiet spot where, under British rule, they might have leave to worship God in their own way; others were farmers and labourers who hoped to support themselves by honest toil; others were artizans who sought a field whereon to ply some humble trade; others were of no profession in particular, but only anxious to obtain the means of life on as easy terms as possible, and had been drawn to Ireland by the fact that there, as in every newly-settled country, the object of their search could be secured with more facility than elsewhere. Some of them waited on the services of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which Government had lately imported out of England, and had raised to the position of the Ecclesiastical Establishment of Ireland; others of them, being English Puritans or Scottish Presbyterians, preferred forms of worship which, as they supposed, were of a more scriptural and simple nature, and to which, at all events, they had grown accustomed.

The period of the Commonwealth had done much to strengthen the Presbyterian element in Ireland, and at the time of the Revolution it constituted the larger part of the Protestant population of Ulster. All parts of that population, whether Episcopal or Presbyterian, were devotedly attached to British rule and to the Protestant religion. Some of them were old enough to remember, and all of them had heard of, the massacre of 1641, when Sir Phelim Roe O'Neill and his followers had made a bold endeavour to exterminate the whole Protestant inhabitants, without regard to age or sex; and they had learned, in consequence, to regard the native Irish with a suspicion and dislike amounting to little short of the feeling that civilized men everywhere entertain for the most bloodthirsty barbarians. Individual Irishmen, no doubt, were well known to be men of honesty and truth; but to the Protestants of 1688 it seemed that a people who, as a general rule, did not act on their own brave and noble instincts of what is right and true, but were content to look at everything through the eyes of another, and to surrender themselves to the will of the priest, were not to be trusted; and that neither religion, nor liberty, nor property, nor life itself, would be safe, should the Roman Catholic Irish, with the feelings that they then cherished, ever succeed in getting the legislative and executive power of the country into their hands.

It was not difficult, therefore, to foresee what side the Protestants of Ulster would be likely to take should the struggle between James II. and his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, ever reach a crisis. In opposing the King, they considered that they were fighting for religion and liberty, for property and life; all of which would be seriously imperilled if James should be the victor. This persuasion made the Protestants much more hearty in favour of the Prince, than the Roman Catholics were in favour of the King.

When King James in his exile, encouraged by Louis XIV. of France, determined to make one great struggle to regain his crown, Ireland was naturally chosen as the place where the trial should be made. There Tyrconnel, one of his creatures, was in the position of supreme governor; the majority of the population was on his side; the army, the bench, the whole machinery of Government, were now, through the unscrupulous action of the Executive, in the hands of those whom, from community of faith, he was able to trust. Those on the other side, though possessing most of the intelligence and property in the country, were numerically inferior,* and might, he supposed, be easily borne down. Ireland once his own, a descent on Scotland was practicable, and Dundee, at the head of the Highland clans, might press forward into England before the new Government would have time to make itself secure.†

The plan of the campaign was entirely disarranged, and the hopes of the King destroyed by what occurred under the walls of Derry. What occurred there, it is the design of the present narrative to describe.

The county of Londonderry had been granted by James I. almost entirely to the incorporated guilds and companies of the city of London, and was planted and settled by them; a fact the remembrance of which is perpetuated in its name. The chief town in the county is situated on the river Foyle, some four miles above the point where the river empties itself into the lough, and some twenty miles above the point where the lough empties itself into the Atlantic. Within a bend of the river there is an oblong ridge of ground running for nearly an English mile parallel with the bank, and at its highest point rising about 119 feet above the level of the stream. Surrounded on three sides by water, this ridge presents all the appearance of having been once an island; but throughout the whole historical period the western arm of the river had been dried up, and at the time of the siege a morass or meadow occupied its place. Tradition tells that this island was thickly covered with oak trees, when St. Columbkille founded on it a monastery before going to Iona.* It is certain that it was at an early period the seat of an abbey, and after the diocesan system was introduced and set up in the 12th century, it was the see of a prelate down till the Reformation. The Danes and Normans in their piratical expeditions paid very little respect to bishops, and abbots, and monks, and frequently visited Derry to plunder its monasteries and to burn its churches. It fared little better in the wars which the petty Irish chiefs warred against each other: being an ecclesiastical settlement inhabited by few except monks, and nuns, and clergy, it fell an easy prey to the spoiler, and was repeatedly pillaged and burned down. In 1566, the English, under Colonel Edward Randolph, took possession of the place in their wars with the great Irish chieftain, Shan O'Neill; but the pestilence that broke out among the troops swept them entirely away, and the place was not permanently occupied till 1600, when it was taken by Sir Henry Docwra. It was then used as a sort of fortified camp, from which an English garrison kept the adjacent country in subjection. The first Protestant bishop of Derry was George Montgomery, who occupied the see from 1605-10. In 1608, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, the chief of Ennishowen, surprised the fortress, slew the governor, and burned the town.* It is from this point that the modern history of the city commences.

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* Lord Macaulay, *Hist.*, ch. vi., estimates that in 1688 the Roman Catholics of Ireland amounted to 1,000,000, and the Protestants to 200,000.

† "In the meantime there is 5,000 ordered forthwith for Scotland to keep the Highlanders, and others the king's friends there, from fainting till more can be sent them. We conclude we can spare a formidable army of horse and foot for England, and the like for Scotland; who, with greater supplies we expect at the same time to land in England from France, and the king's friends yet in England, who want only our presence to join with us, will, with loss of as little blood as he lost them, recover those his kingdoms again."—*Letter* of a Lieutenant in King James's Army, dated May 7th, 1689, in *Ireland's Lament.*, p. 35.

The design was to land ten thousand men at Troon, on the coast of Ayrshire, march on Glasgow, form a junction with the Highlanders, and seize Stirling.—Avaux's *Memorandum*, dated May $\frac{16}{6}$, 1689, and given to James. See *Negociations*, p. 151.

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* Adamnan, in his *Life of Columbkille*, repeatedly designates Derry by the name *Roboretum Calgachi*—the oak-grove of Calgach; but does not state that the saint founded the monastery.

In 1609, the Honourable the Irish Society was constituted by the Corporation of London, and charged with the duty of planting the county with inhabitants and of re-building Derry. Four years after, a considerable number of houses had been erected, and the Society received their charter of incorporation. In 1617, the walls were built, under direction of the Society's surveyor, at an expense of £8,357. At a cost of £2,300, a dry ditch, eight feet deep and thirty broad, ran outside the wall, from the west side round the south, and down to the water's edge. In 1622, £500 was expended in building a market-house in the central square of the city; and in 1633, £4,000 was spent on the erection of the cathedral. Between 1609 and 1629, £14,470 was paid by the Society for the erection of one hundred and eleven houses. The original design of the fortifications was, not to provide against any regular siege by a trained army, which, from their position and nature, they were ill able to do, but to assist the inhabitants in repelling any attack from the surrounding Celtic population, who were supposed to cherish anything but a friendly feeling to their new neighbours. The walls more than served the design of their builders. In 1642, they intimidated Sir Phelim O'Neill, who threatened Derry, but did not venture to attack it. In 1649, they enabled Sir Charles Coote, in the interest of the Commonwealth, to hold the city against the Royalists under Lord Montgomery. And in 1689, they enabled a party of untrained civilians, gentry and clergy, peasants and artisans, to maintain their ground successfully against the whole army of King James.*

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* *Ordnance Survey of County Londonderry*, pp. 17-97; Froude's *History of England*, vol. viii., p. 407.

The town is built on the northern face of the ridge already mentioned, where the hill by an abrupt descent slopes down to the water's edge, and is of an oblong shape, the length being greater than the breadth. From a little square, called the Diamond, forming the centre, four streets led off in opposite directions, and where each of these streets cuts the wall a gate was placed, which, if necessary, could be shut against any invader. Ship-quay-gate opened on a small pier, which served as a quay, and through it there could be no egress to the country, except at low water. Ferry-quay-gate opened upon a path that led down to the river, which is here 1068 feet across and 43 deep, and over which, at the time of the siege, and for many years afterwards, there was no bridge. Citizens travelling towards Strabane or Letterkenny went out by Bishop's-gate. Persons coming to the city from Culmore entered by Butcher's-gate, which overlooked the morass on the western side of the city. For the convenience of the public, various new gates have been opened since; but at the time of the siege these four only were in existence. The walls were built of earth and stone; they were twenty-four feet high,* and in the narrowest part from six to twelve feet thick, and in some places considerably more: they were strengthened by nine bastions at the corners and sides, and by two half bastions; and they enclosed an area of about a mile in circumference. On them, eight sakers and twelve demi-culverins, provided at the expense of the London Companies, were planted for the protection of the city; while Butcher's-gate and Ship-quay-gate were guarded by a portcullis, and Bishop's-gate and Ferry-quay-gate were furnished each with a drawbridge.†

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* *Ordnance Survey; Concise View; Hempton;* King's *State*, p. 116.

Notwithstanding these defences, the city, from its position, was open to destruction alike from the river or the land. The site slopes gradually up from the water to the cathedral, which occupies the highest point of the hill, and the houses are in consequence entirely at the mercy of a war-vessel anchored in the river. The highest part of the city is completely overtopped by still higher ground within cannon range, on both sides of the water; so that, however impregnable it proved two centuries ago to the army of King James, the means of attack that modern ingenuity has devised could, with ease, lay the town in ruins in a quarter of an hour. Military men who in our day contemplate its position and surroundings, wonder how men moderately acquainted with the science of war could ever think of defending it, and still more, how men of any military knowledge could fail to take it. The fact, however, is, that there was very little science in the warfare of two centuries ago: weapons both of attack and defence were neither so powerful nor so destructive as those in use at present; and the men on both sides being in general raw levies collected for the occasion, were not trained to use with effect the feeble artillery which they did possess. This, at least, was one reason why the besiegers in a three months' siege never once succeeded in making a practicable breach. That Derry possessed walls and bulwarks with cannon mounted upon them, was the reason why, when the tide of war swept over the province, the Protestant population fled thither from all quarters to seek a shelter which they had no hope of finding elsewhere.

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* Few parts of the wall are now over twelve or fifteen feet high. Captain S. P. Oliver, R.A., has suggested to me that this is owing to the ditch outside the wall being now filled up.

† Bennet's *True and Impartial Account*, p. 28; *Ordnance Survey*, p. 99: *Hempton*.

CHAPTER II.

THE SHUTTING OF THE GATES.

THE policy which King James pursued in Ireland from the beginning of his reign was to reverse the state of things which had previously existed, to put the Protestants under the feet of the Roman Catholics, and to use the latter as his instruments in establishing arbitrary power. His main agent in carrying out this plan was Richard Talbot, Lord Tyrconnel, commonly known as "Lying Dick Talbot"—a coarse, unprincipled, unscrupulous man, who came to Ireland as Lord Deputy, in February, 1687. Originally the younger son of Sir Henry Talbot, a lawyer, he had served as a soldier in Spain and the Netherlands, but through the influence of his brother, Peter, afterwards Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, he was introduced to James, and rose rapidly in his favour. He was made a peer of Ireland, Lieutenant-General of the army, and afterwards Viceroy. He was, says the author of *Macariæ Excidium*, "a man of stately presence, bold and resolute, of greater courage than conduct, naturally proud and passionate, of moderate parts, but of an unbounded ambition." The Government with which he was now entrusted by his master gave him ample scope for the exhibition of his character and talents. He often swore to the contrary, but there can be no doubt that his real object was to stamp out Protestantism in Ireland.

He commenced his work by weeding Protestants out of the army, and putting Roman Catholics in their place. Roman Catholics in a very large proportion were admitted into the Privy Council, upon the Bench, and into the Corporations of towns and cities.* Bishoprics which fell vacant were not filled up, and the income of them was handed over to the Romish clergy.† Over the country Protestant justices and sheriffs were set aside, and Roman Catholics—many of them ill adapted for the position—were nominated to fill the vacancies thus created. To crown all, the Protestants were disarmed, so that they could not protect themselves if attacked; while untrained and ignorant men enrolled as soldiery, uncontrolled by discipline, preyed upon the country, and robbed the Protestant population, particularly in the southern counties, of their cattle and their valuables at will.‡ It was in vain that any Protestant sought for justice at the courts of law; no justice could be had. Men had to submit to violence and oppression, without daring to complain.

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* "Putting them into power, and displacing Protestants to make room for them, made more noise and raised King James more enemies than all the other maladministrations charged upon his Government put together."—Leslie's *Answer to King*, p. 126.

† "Depuis trois ans seulement, Sa Maiesté Britannique n'a point nomme d'evesques Protestans à la place de ceux qui sont morts, et a fait donner à ferme ces biens eclesiastiques, et du revenu elle en a donné des pensions aux evesques et pasteurs Catholiques."—*Avaux to Louis*, from Dublin, April $\frac{14}{4}$, 1689.

‡ *Ireland's Lamentation*. King's *State of the Protestants : Narrative of the Murders*. Avaux says, "Makarty m'a dit que comme les soldats n'ont receu de paye ils ont pillé par tout."—*Avaux to Louis*, $\frac{23}{13}$ March, 1689.

"Vivent en partie de ce qu'ils volent à la campagne, de moutons et autres bestiaux."—*Avaux to Louis*, from Cork, March $\frac{28}{18}$, 1689.

This state of things gave great exultation to the Roman Catholics; they naturally thought that the hour of their triumph had come. But among the Protestants it was productive of deep and widespread alarm. They well knew what would be the result, when those whom once they ruled—in some instances, it must be admitted, with no gentle hand—were now set over their heads. Some of them sold out their goods, closed their houses, and removed to England. Persons engaged in trade, especially, saw that danger was near, and hurried from the kingdom. Others were in a position that did not permit them to flee; they stayed, but counted on no better fate than to be robbed first and murdered afterwards. All confidence of the Protestants, either in the administration of justice or in the protection of Government, had melted away, notwithstanding that Tyrconnel was constantly soothing them with fair words and assuring them of the King's most gracious intentions towards them. When the Lord Deputy heard of the landing of the Prince of Orange, he sent off three thousand of the regular troops to England to support the King, and he used every exertion to strengthen the four thousand which remained, by new levies, in order that he might be able to meet any emergency at home, and at least to retain Ireland in the interest of James. From want of money in the public exchequer, these newly enlisted men had next to no pay; their officers were not able to maintain them; they were quartered on the country; and the result was, that, especially after the Prince of Orange landed, the disarmed Protestants were at their mercy, to be plundered or murdered at their will.* All accounts agree in testifying that they used their power with no unsparing hand.

The terror which was general all over the island in the last months of 1688, was felt in all its intensity in the city of Derry. Tardy and difficult as it then was to convey intelligence of what was being done at head-quarters, the people knew that the King was a Roman Catholic, that he was fanatical in his efforts to advance the Romish religion and to bring the whole nation to agree with him on that subject, and that every office of trust and emolument was, by a very rapid process, passing over to those whose faith coincided with the King's. Between August and October, the Corporation had been remodelled, and the members stood to each other in the proportion of twenty Protestants to forty-five Roman Catholics. John Campsie, the Protestant Mayor, had been displaced, and in his room had been substituted Colonel Cormack O'Neill, of Broughshane, who, though also a Protestant, was disposed to sink his religion in the interests of his master.†

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* *King:* Hamilton's *Actions of the Enniskillen Men: Harris.*

† It is not generally known that this Colonel O'Neill was a Protestant. "He was then (11th of March, 1689) a professed Protestant," but his wife was a Roman Catholic. Leslie tells how Mr. White, Presbyterian Minister of Broughshane, had great difficulty in protecting this lady from being robbed on the 13th February, 1689, by the forces under command of Colonel Adair and Lieutenant Mitchelburn, then on their way to the siege of Carrickfergus. Her only offence was that she was a Roman Catholic, and that her husband was in the castle which they were about to besiege. Mr. White did not leave Mrs. O'Neill till he saw her safely in Shane's Castle, in

The native Irish in the neighbourhood of the city were providing themselves with arms, and even priests were procuring chain-bridles, guns, and other military equipments. Honest farmers through the country had some difficulty in getting their horses shod, so busy was every forge in the manufacture of skeins and half pikes. In a sermon preached by a friar in the Market-house to the Romish soldiers of the garrison, in the month of October, the sin of Saul in not slaying the Amalekites was the subject of discourse; and some Protestants who were present, did not fail to report the matter, and to draw the moral which, as they supposed, the preacher intended. Masses were publicly said for the furthering of some secret intention. The hopes of the Romish party were evidently bright, and reports were daily in circulation that they were making preparation for some great and interesting event that was rapidly approaching. What was the great design in hand none in the secret ventured to divulge; but the Protestants, who had read of the St. Bartholomew massacre at Paris in 1572, and who from their childhood had heard the story of Sir Phelim Roe told again and again at their firesides, and who well knew the state of feeling that prevailed in the country, had the firm belief that the affair in hand was the indiscriminate slaughter of the whole Protestant population. There is now no doubt that in this opinion the Protestants were entirely mistaken: what the Roman Catholics expected was the speedy

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care of the Marchioness of Antrim. See Leslie's *Answer to King*, p. 87. Colonel Cormack O'Neill was one of the O'Neills of Edenduffcarrick, or Shane's Castle, and full cousin of the Marchioness of Antrim. See Hill's *Macdonnells of Antrim*, p. 348.

and ultimate triumph of their religion, which, now that the King and Government were upon their side, they hoped to be able to secure.*

It must have been known in Ulster by the end of November, that the Prince of Orange had landed on the shores of England; but even that fact did not inspire confidence. He seemed to them as yet in the light of a mere adventurer. He might fail, as Monmouth failed; he might have to enter on a struggle with the king's troops that might not be ended for months, perhaps years to come; and even if he should eventually succeed, the Northern Protestants meanwhile would be left at the mercy of the Irish enemy. The news that he had landed, and for some time they knew no more, did not therefore dissipate their fears. Meanwhile mysterious hints were reaching them from some of the well-disposed Irish, that this and the other Protestant should, if he were wise, take care of his safety, inasmuch as a storm was at hand.

Early in December, 1688, the popular ferment reached its climax in Derry and throughout Ulster in consequence of a small and very trivial incident. On Monday, the 3rd December, a letter was found on the streets of Comber, County Down, addressed to Lord Mount-Alexander, a Protestant nobleman of that neighbourhood, whose title has long since become extinct; professing to be written by a friend, informing him of the intended massacre, and cautioning him to guard against the danger:—

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* Mackenzie's *Narrative: King:* Hamilton's *Actions of the Enniskillen Men.*

"DECEMBER 3RD, 1688.

"GOOD MY LORD,

"I have written to you to let you know that all our Irishmen through Ireland is sworn: that on the ninth day of this month they are all to fall on to kill and murder man, wife, and child; and I desire your lordship to take care of yourself, and all others that are judged by our men to be heads, for whosoever of them can kill any of you, they are to have a captain's place; so my desire to your honour is, to look to yourself, and give other noblemen warning, and go not out either night or day without a good guard with you, and let no Irishman come near you, whatsoever he be; so this is all from him who was your father's friend, and is your friend, and will be, though I dare not be known, as yet, for fear of my life."*

To this letter no name was attached. It seemed to be the production of some illiterate person, actuated by friendly feeling to his lordship, but who, from motives of prudence, did not wish his name to be known.† It was in reality a vile hoax, the authorship of which was never known; but the matter it contained gave such expression to the Protestant feeling of the time that few, if any, who heard it, suspected it then to be a base invention. Copies of it spread over the whole kingdom with wonderful celerity in a very few days. It was sent by express to Dublin,* and to Derry, and even to smaller towns. It reached Derry on the morning of Friday, December 7th. No one there suspected it to be a hoax; its authenticity was believed by all. Everyone thought it providential that the warning arrived in time, and that they had two clear days still left them to put themselves in a posture of defence. Great events often spring from very insignificant causes. The wretch who wrote that silly letter, without intending it or foreseeing what was to happen, set in motion a train of events which resulted in the siege of Derry, and in the loss of Ireland to King James.

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* Mackenzie's *Nar.*, ch. i.; King's *State*, App. No. 12.

† The author of the pamphlet quoted in the succeeding note, thinks it was a contrivance devised to engage the Earl of Mount-Alexander in the Association formed in the north-east against King James's Government. But the fact is, that Association was not formed for a month or two *after* the present date.

For a few days before this letter was written, Derry was without a garrison. Some time previously, Lord Mountjoy's regiment had been quartered in the town, to the great satisfaction of the citizens; for his was one of the few regiments now remaining which still contained a considerable number of Protestants, and, moreover, Mountjoy himself was not only a Protestant, but the grandson of Sir William Stewart of Ramelton, who, at the head of his Laganeers, had protected the city from Sir Phelim Roe, in 1642. But on the 23rd November, Mountjoy's regiment, by order of Tyrconnel, left for Dublin, in order to supply the place of the soldiers who had been sent to England to assist the King. For a fortnight afterwards the new levies were not ready to come to Derry to fill the vacant quarters. The mistake

* Its effect in Dublin may be judged by a pamphlet of the time entitled "A *Faithful History* of the Northern Affairs of Ireland," etc., quoted by Leslie in his *Answer to King*, p. 78:—"It so alarmed the city, that above 5,000 Protestants appeared in arms that same night, and many hundred families embarked from all parts in such confusion, that they left everything but their lives behind them."

minister of Glendermot, who did not scruple to advise the bold step of shutting the gates and refusing admittance to the king's troops. Next he consulted Dr. Hopkins, the Protestant Bishop; but his lordship believed in the Divine right of kings, held it to be the duty of subjects, under all circumstances, to obey their Sovereign, and thought it a very serious thing to commit an act of barefaced rebellion. This staggered the worthy Alderman, who cherished the best intentions, but naturally hesitated to incur grave responsibility, and to take on himself the very serious step of resisting the Crown and the constituted authorities of the nation.

While the city magistrates were undecided what to do in the circumstances, a sudden impulse on the part of the populace decided for them, and Derry had struck the first blow which was struck in Ireland against the king. Two of Lord Antrim's officers had reached the town, and were presenting to the Deputy-Mayor the Government warrant for the admission of the troops. Three companies had already arrived at the Waterside ; some of them had crossed the ferry, had landed on the city side, and were approaching Ferry-quay-gate. There was no time to be lost. Five minutes more would have put them in possession, and then all would have been settled and over. It was a critical moment in the history of the nation : the future of Ireland was to take its colour from the present resolve. Eight or nine young apprentices of the city, acting on the impulse of the moment, ran to the gate, drew their swords, raised the draw-bridge, seized the keys, and locked the gates against the Redshanks, when they were only sixty yards from the spot. Three or four others of their companions soon joined them, and without loss of time the magazine was seized and the other gates secured.

The men who, in defence of their lives and of their religion, committed this act of bold rebellion against Tyrconnel and his master, well deserve to have their names remembered. They were :—

1. Henry Campsie.
2. William Crookshanks.
3. Robert Sherrard.
4. Daniel Sherrard.
5. Alexander Irwin.
6. James Steward.
7. Robert Morrison.
8. Alexander Cunningham.
9. Samuel Hunt.
10. James Spike.
11. John Conningham.
12. William Cairns.
13. Samuel Harvey.*

Meanwhile the Redshanks stood outside the Ferry-gate. Irritated at their failure to effect an entrance, and hoping that the authorities might grant the application of their officers, they showed no disposition to retire. But James Morrison, one of the citizens, shouted out in a voice loud enough to reach them, "Bring about the great gun here!" whereupon the whole party scampered down the hill to the river, and crossed the ferry with all speed. They reached the Waterside in no very pleasant humour, and gave expression to their rage by committing petty assaults upon the people there.

No sooner was it known throughout the city that the gates had been shut by the populace in the face of the king's troops, than the graver citizens became very much alarmed at the probable consequences. The magistrates, indeed, derived some small comfort from the discovery that, owing to a technical informality in the warrant, they were not under legal obligation to admit the soldiers. Nevertheless, they could not conceal from themselves that an overt act of rebellion had been committed against the crown, and they dreaded the result. It was at noon that the gates were shut; and soon after Bishop Hopkins came down to the Diamond, made a speech to the multitude, and warned them of the dangerous consequences that would ensue. Its nature may be known from the notice of it in a rude historical poem of the time:—

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* *Mackenzie*, ch. i.

> "Dear friends, a war upon yourselves you'll bring:
> Talbot's deputed by a lawful king:
> They that resist his power do God withstand;—
> You'll draw a potent army to this land.
>
> * * * *
>
> Submit yourselves unto the present power." *

"My Lord," said young Irwin, speaking from the crowd, "your doctrine's very good, but we can't now hear you out." † Deputy-Mayor Buchanan also spoke to the same effect, but, as might be expected, he also spoke in vain. The excited crowd were well aware that serious consequences might ensue; but no consequences that could ensue seemed to them so serious as having their throats cut by the Redshanks—a catastrophe that every man of them believed would result from admitting these military bandits within their gates. Nothing, therefore, could shake them in their purpose to keep the gates closed against Lord Antrim and his men, happen what would.

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* *Londerias*, lib. ii. 4. *Reflections*, pp. 10, 11.

† *An Apology for the Failures*, p. 13.

That evening, letters were written by the citizens and despatched to various quarters of the country, announcing what they had done, and asking for assistance to maintain the ground which they had taken up. All through the night the young men kept guard upon the wall. Next morning being Saturday, they broke into the magazine, and from the scanty stores there deposited took one hundred and fifty muskets, a barrel of powder, and bullets in proportion. When their numbers were counted, it was found that the whole city could supply only three hundred men fit to bear arms; but their strength was increasing every hour, owing to the numbers who now began to hurry in from the country,—some in answer to the appeals sent out yesterday, and others to seek protection from the impending massacre. The Bishop, not choosing to share in the responsibility of an act which was done in opposition to his advice, and dreading, no doubt, that further residence might be construed into tacit approbation of an act of rebellion, withdrew that day from the city and went to Raphoe; or, to use the words of an anonymous writer of the time, "Finding his doctrine the oftener repeated less credited by church-rebel Jack Presbyter, left the city some days after to the disloyal Whigs." * To take every necessary precaution against the expected massacre, all Roman Catholic residents were sent out of the city, and the inmates of the Dominican monastery were also turned out and dismissed. Next morning the news arrived that the Prince of Denmark, husband of the Princess Anne (the king's younger daughter), and also the Duke of Ormond, had gone over to the party

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* *Apology*, p. 14.

of the Prince of Orange. These tidings gave such joy to the citizens that two of their best guns were fired in honour of the event.

It was evident that Derry was in earnest, and that the position taken up yesterday its citizens were firmly resolved to maintain. The Redshanks, who had now for two days lounged about the Waterside in no very pleasant mood of mind, and who, in absence of their Colonel, knew not very well what steps they ought to take, heard, to their dismay, the cannon fired on the walls, and observed some symptoms which seemed to indicate that they were about to be attacked. Some fifty or sixty boys were drawn up at the Ferry-quay, by one George Cook, a butcher, and, soon after, a party of thirty or forty horsemen, headed by Alderman Tomkins and the Rev. James Gordon, appeared on the Glendermot hills. Neither party had the slightest intention of molesting them; but the soldiery, none of whom had ever seen a battle, and few of whom knew how to fire a gun, were smitten with a sudden panic at the sight of this array, and retreated with precipitation along the road by which they came, in the direction of Limavady. Some fled without their horses; others forgot their baggage; and one gallant officer ran away in his stockings wanting his boots.* Before they reached Newtownlimavady, they met Lord Antrim, who, unconscious of what had occurred, was coming with his lady and family to reside in the city and to take command of the garrison. Mr. Philips, with whom he had lodged the preceding night, accompanied him now in his coach. Upon hearing the report of the soldiers, he halted, and sent forward Mr. Philips, who was in the confidence of the citizens, to ascertain the real state of matters in town. On arriving in Derry, he was, at a hint from himself, threatened with imprisonment if he did not instantly make common cause with the insurgents. Forthwith he sent back a message to the Earl that he was detained in the city against his will, and that in the present posture of affairs it would not be safe for his lordship to attempt to enter. Strong reinforcements had in the meantime been poured from the country into the town, and the Earl, on his own responsibility, did not choose to proclaim a civil war. He, therefore, took advice, and fell back with his men towards Coleraine, to await further orders. Mr. Philips, who once before had been Governor of Derry, and whose warning in regard to the Redshanks had decided the citizens to shut their gates, was now asked to take charge of the town, and consented to become temporary governor.

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* *Rawdon Papers*, Letter 129.

The departure of the regiment gave the more sober portion of the people an opportunity to reflect on what had occurred. The deed of Friday, they well knew, was an act of rebellion, and although done in what they considered to be self-defence, and to avoid a terrible disaster which seemed impending, it was susceptible of a very unfavourable interpretation, and might be understood at Dublin to mean open defiance of the Government. They were conscious that the people did not mean a step so extreme; they only wished to protect themselves and their children. In these circumstances, it was thought wise to write and intimate the whole affair to Lord Mountjoy, who had lately left the city, who knew the citizens personally, and who, as they believed, would put the case before the

Government in the most favourable light. That very day, the city authorities sent to Mountjoy the following letter :—

"Right Honourable,—The last post carried up to His Excellency the news of what our rabble had done in the town: how they had shut the gates against some of the Earl of Antrim's regiment, which we then blamed them for, though we could not restrain them ; but yesterday and this day, being on all hands informed that a general massacre was determined, at least in Ulster, to be executed on the British Protestants : and having certain intelligence that the priests and friars of late bought up great numbers and quantities of horses, and arms, and other habiliments of war, as chain-bridles (whereof Dean Cahan for his part bought up twelve) : recollecting further many dark speeches in ordinary conversation of late, and very odd sermons by the priests and friars preached in this neighbourhood : and hearing that the very soldiers that were to quarter here had been overheard to utter terrible threats against us, as to burn houses, etc. : and several outrages being committed by some of them on several persons,—particularly, one of them, without any provocation, cut one of the ferry-men, almost to the loss of his hand ; some of them broke open houses, and took provisions thence by force, etc. : and when we were certainly informed that under pretence of eight companies, consisting of four hundred men, that were to come to this town, there were at least twelve hundred on the road to this place, besides great numbers of women and boys (which the Ultoghs always carry along with them when they expect spoil) : and, lastly, when we caused the patent to be inspected, and found that it referred in the body thereof to the names of the captains underneath, and yet not one named, we cannot but think it a most wonderful providence of God to stir up the mobile for our safety, and preservation of the peace of the kingdom against such bloody attempts as these northern people had formed against us, which we doubt not but His Excellency will look upon as a great and very acceptable service to His Majesty, to whom we resolve always to bear true faith and allegiance against all disturbers of his Government whatsoever, and only to act in our own defence, without the least disturbance or prejudice to any that will live peaceably with us. And we doubt not but that all that are alarmed and terrified with the like danger in this and adjacent counties, and hereupon have put themselves also upon their defence, to the number, as we are informed from several parts, of near twenty thousand horse and foot, will do the same if they be not assaulted. The rabble in their heat found means to get into the magazine, and thence took some arms and ammunition; but we have caused it to be locked up, and a guard set thereon, and an account taken of what is taken thence, and what left therein. Our request is, that your lordship will represent our danger to His Excellency, the necessity we are under, and obtain from him his allowance and countenance for securing ourselves from these Ulster enemies, that will never be obedient when they have power in their hand. Your lordship's kindness herein will be a perpetual obligation on the inhabitants of this city and neighbourhood, and very much tend to His Majesty's service in preserving the lives of thousands of his good and innocent subjects that were designed for slaughter. We remain your lordship's most obedient, humble servants,

"JOHN CAMPSIE,
"SAMUEL NORMAN, ETC.

"*Londonderry*, *Dec.* 9, 1688." *

That Sabbath night, the 9th of December, to which the Mount-Alexander letter had led so many in Ulster to look forward with dread, had come at last. Derry at least was safe; every Roman Catholic in the city had left it yesterday; the Redshanks had that morning fled from the suburbs; a Protestant guard was stationed at every gate. But what of the rest of Ulster? All the other Protestants in Ulster were in great alarm. Throughout the whole province that night few, if any, of them retired to rest. No fires were quenched; no pillows were pressed; no eyes closed. A friend knocking for admittance at his neighbour's door was sure to be answered by a blunderbuss pointed out of the window. Every man who had a weapon stood all through that long winter night, with weapon in order, waiting for the approach of the assassins, and ready to defend to the last those that were dear to him as life.† But the twilight of that evening had darkened down to night, and did not bring the man of blood. Midnight struck, and the assassin came not. The winter sun rose again, and not even in the most secluded glen in Ulster had a single cabin been invaded by the presence of an enemy. The anticipated massacre did not take place, and was not attempted in the most unprotected hamlet, either then or throughout the whole Revolutionary war. Many, however, thought that the day of slaughter was only postponed, and could scarcely allow themselves to believe the now manifest fact, that the heartless ruffian who wrote the Comber letter had in reality hoaxed a province.

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* *Mackenzie*, App., p. 47.

† *True and Impartial Account*, p. 3.

Though their worst fears were, happily, not realized, yet the state of public affairs was sufficiently alarming to induce the people of Derry to maintain the posture of defence which circumstances had compelled them to assume. James and William had already entered on a struggle for the crown, the issue of which, even in England, was then very uncertain. Tyrconnel was levying troops in great numbers, and evidently making preparations. The attitude of the Roman Catholic population was threatening. The Protestants, whether with or without aid from England, must soon stand on their defence. Ireland could not fail, from its peculiar circumstances, to become the seat of war. Derry had struck the first blow, and could not, therefore, hope to escape the natural consequences. It was no more than prudent in such a case that the citizens should provide for their safety ere matters should come to the worst. They were urged to this course by David Cairns, Esq., of Knockmany, in County Tyrone, the first man of position in Ulster who publicly identified himself with the act of the humble Derry apprentices. He formed the inhabitants of the town into six companies, with a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign appointed over each.* The most innocent form of showing our respect for a generation of citizens who had the honour of playing such a prominent part in the history of the nation, is to carefully record their names; while in so doing we also show the fact, that the town companies were officered by men entirely different from those who, four months afterwards, were placed over the regiments formed when the refugees from all parts of Ulster took shelter in the city at the commencement of the siege. The officers of the original city companies were as follows:—

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* *Apology* p. 4; *Reflections*, p. 6; Mackenzie's *Nar.*, ch. i.

1 Captain Samuel Norman.
Lieut. William Crookshanks. †
Ensign Alexander Irwin.†

2 Capt. Alexander Lecky. *
Lieut. James Lennox.*
Ensign John Harvey. *

3 Capt. Matthew Cocken.
Lieut. Henry Long. *
Ensign Francis Hunt.

4 Capt. Warham Jemmet.
Lieut. Robert Morrison.†
Ensign Daniel Sherrard.†

5 Capt. John Tompkins.
Lieut. James Spaight.
Ensign Alexander Cunningham. †

6 Capt. Thomas Moncrieff.
Lieut. James Morrison.
Ensign William Mackee.*

Upon the day after organizing the city companies (Tuesday, the 11th of December), Mr. Cairns set out for England, to procure, if possible, a supply of arms and ammunition for the citizens, and to explain how matters stood to the Irish Society, who, as their landlords and friends, took, as they knew, an intelligent and warm interest in their favour. ‡

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* The five names marked thus (*) are found among the Presbyterian aldermen and burgesses ejected from the Derry Corporation in 1704.

† The five persons thus marked (†) were among the thirteen apprentices who closed the gates.

‡ See Appendix, No. 1.

When tidings reached Dublin that the gates had been shut against the king's troops, the Lord-Deputy was very much enraged ;—burned his wig in his fury, as his manner was, and gave instant orders that Lord Mountjoy and Colonel Lundy, with six companies of their regiment, should instantly go down and reduce the refractory citizens to order. So soon as this was known at Derry, the inhabitants drew up and published a Declaration, in which they described the circumstances under which the act of the 7th of December had been committed, and stated that, while persevering in their duty and loyalty to King James, they were, nevertheless, determined to allow no Papist soldiers to quarter in the city. As yet, it will be observed, they had not declared for the Prince of Orange ;—they were not averse from the troops of King James, provided only that they were Protestants ; and they were most unwilling that their recent action should be interpreted so as to wear the appearance of disloyalty and rebellion. They were anxious that all should know that it was done from motives of self-preservation only. It was at an after-stage that they identified themselves with the cause of the Prince, and assumed the attitude of avowed opposition to King James. *

Lord Mountjoy was one of the Protestant officers who had not yet been dismissed from the King's service, and he was naturally unwilling to proceed to extremities against his co-religionists, at least until all hope of a peaceful solution of the difficulty would be over. When he reached Omagh, he put himself into communication with the city, and ascertained that the citizens were

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* See Appendix, No. 2.

disposed to come to terms. In their present circumstances, indeed, nothing else was possible, even if they had been bent on war. There were only two barrels of powder in the magazine, there was no store of provisions in the town, and it was as yet uncertain whether the Prince of Orange could keep his ground in England, and still more so when he could send relief.[*] After some negociations, for the better management of which Lord Mountjoy came to Derry, it was finally agreed, in substance, that Mountjoy, on his part, was to obtain from His Excellency Lord Tyrconnel a free pardon for all who had been concerned in the shutting of the gates, and that the city was to admit two companies of Mountjoy's regiment, all of them being Protestants, and that the town companies lately formed should retain their arms, and do duty with the others.[†]

Had the worthy mayor and sheriff known that at the very time they were signing this treaty with Mountjoy, acting on behalf of Tyrconnel, the Prince of Orange was in St. James's Palace and the King a prisoner at Rochester, they would not have been, perhaps, so careful to absolve themselves and their fellow-citizens from all "tincture of rebellion" against James.

In conformity to the agreement, two companies of Mountjoy's regiment, under command of Lieut.-Colonel Lundy, a Scottish Episcopalian from the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, were admitted within the walls. The other companies of the regiment, in which there was a proportion of Roman Catholics, were quartered about Strabane, Newtownstewart, and Raphoe. It was thus

[*] *Walker*, p. 13.

[†] See Appendix, No. 3.

that Lundy came to be military governor of the city. The citizens were so well satisfied with the honesty and good faith of the Lord Mountjoy, notwithstanding that in the whole transaction he acted simply as the agent of Tyrconnel and King James (in both of whom, as the issue proved, he had a little too much confidence), that they resigned into his hands the charge of the city, and agreed to follow his orders. Now that the place was in the King's possession, his lordship suggested that means should be taken to put it in a better state of defence, for affairs were in a critical condition, and civil war might at any moment break out. In accordance with this suggestion, various gentlemen within and without the city contributed liberally for that purpose.

When Mountjoy reached Dublin, after having settled matters in the North, it was known there that the Prince of Orange, amid the acclamations of the people, had entered London, that all hope of resistance to him in England was at an end, and that King James had escaped to France. Tyrconnel, who was secretly determined to get Mountjoy out of the way, professed to be profoundly affected with the news, talked of the utter ruin that would ensue if Ireland should have to enter into war with England at the present moment, and proposed that Mountjoy and Chief Baron Rice should proceed to France to lay the state of matters before the King, and, if possible, to obtain his concurrence for making terms with the Prince of Orange. He wished it to be believed that he himself would willingly surrender his government, provided it could be done with his master's consent. To gain this consent was the professed object of his sending the deputation to France.

At first Mountjoy scrupled to undertake such a mission, but eventually consented. Before leaving, he submitted to the Lord Deputy the following proposals for maintaining the peace of the kingdom :—

"JANUARY 10TH, 1688-9.

"Until His Majesty's pleasure be further known, it is humbly proposed to Your Excellency :—

"1st. That no more levies be made in this kingdom, no more arms given out, nor no commissions signed.

"2nd. That all the new raised forces be kept in their present quarters (if no enemy lands here, and that the kingdom is quiet), and that no more troops be commanded into Ulster than are at present there.

"3rd. That no nobleman, gentleman, officer, or common man in the kingdom, shall be imprisoned, seized, or in any wise molested for any tumultuous meetings, arming of men, forming of troops, or attempting anything that may be called riotous or rebellious, before this present day.

"4th. That no private gentleman's house shall be made a garrison, or soldiers quartered in it."

Tyrconnel pledged his word and honour that these proposals should be strictly carried out; and Mountjoy forthwith intimated his proposals and the concurrence of His Excellency in a letter which he transmitted to the North :—

"DUBLIN, JANUARY 10TH, '88-9.

"You have had an account of how long I stopped on the way after I left you, and the reasons which made me since come forward; and whatever my jealousies were at my first arrival, I am now fully satisfied with my coming, and, with God's blessing, hope it will come to good to us all. As soon as I saw my Lord Deputy, he told me he intended to send me to the King, jointly with the Lord Chief Baron, to lay before him the state of the kingdom, and to tell him, if he pleased, he would ruin it for him, and make it a heap of rubbish; but it was impossible to preserve and make it of use to him; and therefore to desire his leave to treat for it. The objections I made to this were two—my not being so well qualified for this as another Roman Catholic, one to whom, in all likelihood, the King would sooner give credit; and the improbability of being able to persuade the King, who is now in the French hands, to a thing that is so plainly against their interest. To the first of these I was answered what is not fit for me to repeat; and the other was so well answered that all the most knowing Englishmen here are satisfied with it, and have desired me to undertake this matter, which I have done this afternoon; my Lord Deputy having first promised upon his word and honour to perform the four particulars in the enclosed paper. Now, because a thing of this nature cannot be done without being censured by some, who perhaps would be sorry to have their wishes by quiet means, and by others who think that all that statesmen do are tricks, and that there is no sincerity among them, I would have such consider that it is more probable I, and the most intelligent men in this place, without whose advice I do nothing, should judge righter of this than they who are at a greater distance, and it is not likely we should be fooled; so I hope they will not believe we design to betray them, ourselves, and our nation. I am morally assured this must do our work without blood, or the misery of the kingdom. I am sure it is the way proposed in England, who depend so on it, that no forces are appointed to come hither; and I am sure what I do is not only what will be approved of in England, but what has its beginning from thence. I do therefore conjure you to give your friends and mine this account, and for the love of God keep them from any disorder or mischief, if any had such a design, which I hope they had not. I shall write to this effect to some other parts, and I desire you would let such in your county as you think fit see this. Let the people fall to their labour, and think themselves in less danger than they believed."*

While the North was lulled to rest by these assurances, the crafty Lord Deputy was all the while preparing for war, raising troops throughout the South and West, and taking care to occupy with garrisons Newry and all the leading passes to the North. Thus it was, that when the time came to move and strike, he was able to take Ulster by surprise.†

Mountjoy allowed himself to be completely hoodwinked by Tyrconnel. No sooner had he reached France, than he discovered that, instead of coming to persuade his master to make terms with the Prince, he was sent to be put out of the way. The Chief Baron had secret instructions to tell the King that Mountjoy was a traitor; that the Protestants regarded him as their friend and leader; that all Ireland was true to James;

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* Mackenzie, *Nar.*, p. 9; *King*, App., No. 13; *Harris*, App. xxvi.

† *True and Impartial Acc.*, p. 10.

and that, so soon as he landed with a French army at his back, the Irish were prepared to take up arms in his favour ; but, in case he was neither able nor willing to make an effort for regaining his crown, that the whole country was willing to put itself under the protection of France, rather than submit to the rule of the Prince of Orange. The consequence was, that Lord Mountjoy, when he reached Paris, was immediately seized, and imprisoned in the Bastile. When tidings of this treachery were known in Ireland, it was a new demonstration to the Protestants of the amount of confidence that they were to place in the good faith and honour of Tyrconnel and his master. It was not known till long afterwards that James was not accountable for this treatment of Mountjoy. It was done, however, in his interest, by order of Louis, as a precautionary measure, and the exiled monarch, who was supposed to enjoy the advantage, had to bear the blame.*

At first it was supposed in England, that when the King had fled to France, the Lord Deputy of Ireland would shrink from engaging in a hopeless struggle, and would be disposed to make terms with the Prince ; and Colonel Richard Hamilton, who, though sent over from Ireland to aid the King, had, with his troops, followed the example of the English army, and submitted to the Prince, was now sent back to Dublin on behalf of William, to make proposals to His Excellency. But Tyrconnel had already gone too far in the way of stirring up Catholic against Protestant to be able then to turn back ; and, had he attempted so to do, he could not have succeeded. The populace, disappointed of the grand hopes they had been cherishing for months, would, in their fury, have burned the castle over his head, and torn him limb from limb.* The die, he felt, was cast, and he must peril all upon the consequences. He steadily resisted the overtures which were made to him. He even had the address to persuade Hamilton, who had brought over the proposals from the Prince, to return to his old allegiance, and to enter once more upon the service of James. Both of them hoped for a reaction in the public feeling of England, of which some symptoms were already appearing, and fancied that a vigorous stand made in Ireland would turn the tide once more in favour of the King. Of this, they of course expected to have the credit and the reward. To gain time for the necessary preparations, the Lord Deputy sent Mountjoy, as we have seen, on that wild-goose chase to France, and this removed out of the way a man who was not likely to enter very warmly into his plans.† No sooner had the nobleman whom he duped left the kingdom, than he denied most positively that he had ever promised any such concessions as those enclosed in Mountjoy's letter to the gentlemen of the North. Forthwith he issued commissions for raising soldiers over the kingdom, and induced many of the Irish gentry to accept them, on his assurance that King James would soon come to their assistance with men and money from France.* Should the attempt to restore the King fail, he preferred Louis to William, and was determined, if he could, to make Ireland a province of France.†

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* *Avaux to Louis*, from Charlemont, April $\frac{23}{13}$, 1689.

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* "Le peuple . . . declaroit hautement que s'il songeoit à entrer dans quelque traitté il iroit le bruler dans son palais."—*Avaux to Louis*, from Dublin, $\frac{\text{25 March}}{\text{4 April}}$, 1689.

† Mountjoy was not released from prison till 1692, and soon afterwards fell, fighting in the ranks of King William's army, in the battle of Steenkirk. In October, 1689, there was an agreement on the part of King James and of King William to exchange him for Mountcashel, captured at Newtownbutler; but before it was carried out, Mountcashel had obtained his liberty in another way.—*Avaux to Louis*, October $\frac{31}{21}$, 1689.

The Government of King James thus broke faith with Derry: it is not very wonderful, therefore, if Derry sat a little loose in its allegiance to King James.

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* *Mackenzie*, chap. i.; *King*, chap. iii., section vii. 13, 14; Macaulay, *Hist. of Eng.*, ch. xii.

† "If it was a Frenchman who is Viceroy of Ireland, he could not be more zealous for the interests of Your Majesty."—*Avaux to Louis*, May $\frac{17}{7}$, 1689.

CHAPTER III.

THE INVESTMENT.

THE mission of Mountjoy to France, on pretence of gaining the consent of King James to an arrangement with the Prince of Orange, was a crafty expedient of Tyrconnel; it removed an influential Protestant nobleman who did not sympathise with his plans, it threw the Protestants of Ireland off their guard, and led some of them to believe in a peaceful settlement of affairs; and thus, by disarming suspicion, it enabled the Lord Deputy to carry forward his military preparations for a time without disturbance. Commissions were forthwith issued to every man who would undertake to raise a certain number of soldiers: the men were to be maintained at the expense of the officers; but as most of the officers were not able to support themselves, the soldiers, for their maintenance, had to prey upon the country. Every rough and rapparee willing to fight for the King and for his religion, was enlisted as a soldier: the Protestants of Dublin and the South were disarmed, and the new recruits, whose enlistment had clothed them with authority, proceeded to rob the Protestants of their horses and cattle; except in the North, where the Protestant gentry, the numbers of the Protestant people, and the vicinity of some Protestant garrisons, made it hazardous to attempt in the meantime such violent methods. When tidings reached the North of Tyrconnel's breach of faith towards Mountjoy, of his military preparations, and of the robberies perpetrated on their brethren, the gentry began to take steps for their defence —to enrol their tenants into regiments, and to provide them with such arms as could in their circumstances be obtained.* But they were very tardy in their movements; some of them believed that, after what had occurred in England, Tyrconnel would make terms with the Prince; others, that, even should he fight, speedy help would be sent them from England. The result was, that while Tyrconnel was every day enlisting, drilling, and concentrating his men, the Northern gentry were very slow and fitful in their preparations.† On the 17th January, 1689, they formed themselves into a council at Hillsborough; they corresponded with leading men through the Province; they collected a few companies and stationed them in garrisons, but they did little by way of providing the material of war.

While matters were in this position, a foolish act committed by the Protestants precipitated their doom.

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* "This lord [Mountjoy] was no sooner gone for France, but his two companies, left in Londonderry, with the city, again revolted; and John Hawkins, Esq., a young brisk, zealous Protestant gentleman of good fortune and interest in that province, accompanied with about a hundred others, pursued the example of the Lord Delamere in England, and marched from place to place to stir up the Protestants to arm and assemble together for their own defence, against the common enemy and abuses; and in a short time was so successful as to induce the whole province of Ulster so to do (except the towns of Carrickfergus and Armagh)."—*Ireland's Lament.*, p. 20.

† King's *State*, pp. 125 and 142; *Narrative of Murders*, pp. 12-17; *True and Impartial Account*, p. 12.

On the 21st of February, 1689, an attempt was made by order of the Council of Northern gentry at Hillsborough, to surprise the Castle of Carrickfergus, then occupied by a garrison of Tyrconnel's soldiers. The attempt failed conspicuously, but, in terms of an agreement made between the parties, a document giving an account of what occurred was drawn up and signed by both parties, and one Friar O'Haggerty was sent to lay it before the Lord Deputy. It was a blunder on the part of the Protestants to attempt the capture of the castle without being sure that they could do it; it was a double blunder to agree with the garrison in sending a friar to announce their failure to the very man who, of all others, was most interested in knowing all the circumstances. Did they imagine that the messenger could tell nothing except what was written in the paper? O'Haggerty faithfully fulfilled his trust, and put the document in the hands of the Lord Deputy; but, in addition, he told him what was only too true, "That they [the Protestants] were untrained, and had few experienced officers; that the most part were without arms; and, such as had them, their arms were unfixt and unfit for service; that they were very much scattered, and their number not near what had been written and was confidently reported in Dublin; and that they wanted all ammunition and necessary provisions for appearing in the field." *

Tyrconnel was previously aware of the attitude assumed by the Northern gentry, and on the 24th of February had taken the precaution to disarm the South. But on the receipt of the intelligence brought by

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* *Mackenzie*, ch. ii.

O'Haggerty, he determined to take advantage immediately of the unprepared condition of the Protestants of Ulster. The very week that these tidings reached him, he sent forward Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton, a Roman Catholic officer, who, as has been already stated, had come to Dublin as the envoy of the Prince of Orange, but who had now turned over again to the service of the King, at the head of one thousand of his best trained troops, and two thousand of the new levies; and he prepared to support him with strong reinforcements in a few weeks afterwards, fully resolved that nothing should be wanting on his part to reduce the North to subjection.* Encouraged by the knowledge that the King, bringing men and money from France, was soon about to land, he issued, on the 7th of March, a proclamation in which he stigmatised the Northerners as rebels, charged them with murdering several of His Majesty's subjects and plundering the country, and exempted from pardon no less than ten of the principal gentlemen of the North.†

On Tuesday the 12th of March, King James arrived from France, at Kinsale, but contrary to the expectations which the Irish had formed, he was accompanied by only eighteen hundred men; by some accounts, still less.‡ Here and along the whole route to Dublin, none were so forward in their professions of allegiance and attachment to him as the Protestant Episcopal clergy.* The Lord Deputy met him at Cork, and gave him the following account of the state of affairs:—

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* Story's *Impartial History*, p. 4. There are very different accounts of the number of troops which Hamilton took with him from Dublin. M'Geoghegan makes them 2,000; *Ireland's Lamentation*, 24,000. I prefer Story's, given in the text, which is confirmed by *A True Account*, p. 6.

† See this Proclamation in Appendix, No. 4.

‡ Story, *Continuation*, p. 3. *A True Account*, p. 7, estimates them at 900. *Froude* says 5,000. *English in Ireland*, bk. i., ch. iii., sec. 5.

"That he had sent down Lieutenant-General Hamilton with about 2,500 men, being as many as he could spare from Dublin, to make head against the rebels in Ulster, who were masters of all that province except Charlemont and Carrickfergus; that most part of the Protestants in other parts of the kingdom had been up; that in Munster they had possessed themselves of Castle Martyr and Bandon, but were forced to surrender both places, and were totally reduced in those parts by Lieutenant-General Macarthy, and were in a manner totally suppressed in the other two provinces; that the bare reputation of an army had done it, together with the diligence of the Catholic nobility and gentry, who had raised above fifty regiments of foot, and several troops of horse and dragoons; that he had distributed amongst them about 20,000 arms, but most were so old and unserviceable that not above one thousand of the firearms were found afterwards to be of any use; that the old troops, consisting of one battalion of Guards, together with Macarthy's, Clancarty's, and Newcomen's regiments, were pretty well armed, as also seven companies of Mountjoy's which were with them, the other six having stayed in Derry, with Colonel Lundy and Gustavus Hamilton, the Lieutenant-Colonel and Major of that regiment; that he had three regiments of horse—Tyrconnel's, Russell's, and Galmoy's—and one of dragoons; that the Catholics of the country had no arms, whereas the Protestants had great plenty, and the best horses in the kingdom; that for artillery he had but eight small field-pieces in a condition to march, the rest not mounted, no stores in the magazines, little powder and ball, all the officers gone for England, and no money in cash." * He had also to report to His Majesty that "the Protestants of the South were disarmed, and that, although those of the North were everywhere fleeing before the King's troops, they would make a stand at Londonderry, which for Ireland is a town of some strength; and that the struggle there might last for some days." †

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* Leslie's *Answer to King*, p. 111.

The impression left on the mind of the King by these details was that "there was a great deal of good-will in the kingdom, but little means to execute it." He could not doubt, however, that the Lord Deputy had been zealous in his service, and he showed his sense of it by conferring upon him, then and there, the title, Duke of Tyrconnel. On Sabbath, 24th of March, he entered Dublin in a state procession, amid popular demonstrations of delight, the musicians playing, "The King enjoys his own again." Tyrconnel carried the sword of state before him. He rode on a nag in a plain cinnamon-coloured cloth suit, and black slouching hat, and a George hung over his shoulder with a blue ribbon. When he reached the Castle gate he was met by a train of four Romish bishops bearing the Host, attended by a procession of clergy and friars singing, and headed by the Roman Catholic Primate with a triple crown upon

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* *Memoirs* of James II., quoted in *Excidium Macariæ*, note 83, p. 297.

† *Avaux to Louis*, from Cork, March $\frac{29}{19}$, 1689.

his head; whereupon the King alighted from his horse and went down upon his knees to obtain his blessing. The next day he called a Council, and issued several proclamations. One of these raised the value of current coin—a guinea to twenty-four shillings, and all other coins in proportion; another summoning a Parliament at Dublin, to meet on the 7th of May; and several others requiring all his subjects to assist him against the Prince of Orange, and to furnish supplies to his army in the field. He then took measures to send forward, in charge of a distinguished French officer, M. de Pusignan, additional men to recruit his forces in the North, who, as he heard, had been repulsed at Coleraine; and on Monday, the 8th of April, contrary to the advice of Avaux the French ambassador, and also of Tyrconnel, he started for Derry. *

Meanwhile, Hamilton had invaded Ulster with such rapidity that he completely surprised the gentlemen of the North. Their policy was to remain quiet till they were sure that an army from England had landed. On the 9th of March they held a meeting at Loughbrickland, where Captain Baldwin Leighton, who had arrived that day from England, presented to the Lord Mount-Alexander a letter from the Prince of Orange, approving of the measures which he and others had taken in self-defence, and giving them assurance of speedy relief. †

Before this letter was delivered, William had, on the 22nd February, issued another important declaration, of which the following is an extract:—

"And we do hereby further declare, that if, notwith-

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* *Ireland's Lamentation*, pp. 26-29.

† See Appendix, No. 5.

standing this our declaration, any of our subjects shall continue in arms in opposition to us, we shall think ourselves free and clear of all the blood that shall be spilt, and the destruction and misery which, by reason, may be occasioned ; and we shall look upon ourselves to be justified before God and man in our proceeding, by force of arms, against them as rebels and traitors, and such we declare all those to be who shall act as aforesaid against us and our authority, as is here expressed : and that all the lands and estates of all such as shall, after notice of this our declaration, persist in their rebellion or be anywise abettors thereof, and which by law shall be forfeited to us, shall be by us distributed and disposed to those that shall be aiding and assisting in reducing the said kingdom to its due obedience.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall the 22nd day of February, in the first year of our reign." *

The letter now came to the Council. The Declaration did not reach Ireland till afterwards. Along with the letter Captain Leighton brought over commissions for the officers now in command of the various regiments which had been raised in Ulster ; and so soon as the council understood the state of affairs in England, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen in Armagh, Hillsborough, and the other towns held by the Protestants in the north-east.

On the same day that Captain Leighton arrived from London, the Rev. Alexander Osborne reached the North

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* Hamill's *Danger and Folly*, p. 23. Hamill complained that this *Declaration* was not carried out; that many who fought for King James were left to enjoy their properties, and that many who suffered in the cause of King William got no reward. Certainly William did not deal so harshly with the Irish as some of his adherents wished.

from the metropolis. Formerly he had been minister of Brigh, in the County Tyrone, but some short time before the Revolution he had removed to the congregation of Newmarket, in the city of Dublin. He was employed by his brethren in Ulster to keep them well informed as to the designs of Tyrconnel, and especially as to his policy in regard to the North; and this disinterested task he seems to have performed with diligence and prudence. Unfortunately, the warning that he gave did not receive sufficient attention till it was too late. After Hamilton with his forces had left Dublin for the North, it occurred to the Lord Deputy that a more rapid submission to the King's authority could be obtained from Ulster if the leaders there were assured, on the word of one whom they could trust, that Government would grant them a free pardon in case they should lay down their arms, but in case of resistance would visit them with utter destruction. He knew that Osborne was well acquainted with the north of Ireland; he therefore sent for him, and proposed that he should carry down this assurance to the Protestant gentry. Osborne, without expressing any opinion on the subject, was induced by three considerations to consent to carry down this message: first, he knew the North was far behind in its military preparations; second, since the garrisons on the frontiers of the Protestant and Roman Catholic counties had begun to skirmish, there was no ordinary possibility of sending any communication between Dublin and Ulster; and, farther, he felt that a heavy responsibility would rest on him if he neglected to employ any fair means of warning his coreligionists of the destruction that Hamilton was carrying to their very doors without their seeming to be aware of it. He made no promise whatever to Tyrconnel: he merely undertook to tell the northern gentry what he heard the Lord Deputy say. It was, in fact, as great a blunder on the part of Tyrconnel to send Osborne to the North as it was on the part of the Protestant gentry to send O'Haggerty to Dublin; but that, of course, was Tyrconnel's affair. Osborne, having received a pass from the Lord Deputy, left Dublin on the 7th of March, passed Hamilton's army on the way, reached Newry on the 8th, and on the 9th he made his way to the Council, which met at Loughbrickland.

The nature of the proposals that Mr. Osborne carried from Tyrconnel will best be understood from the letter which he wrote that evening at Hillsborough, addressed to Sir Arthur Rawdon[*] :—

"HILLSBOROUGH, MARCH 9th, $168\frac{8}{9}$.

"SIR,—On the 6th instant I was introduced by my Lord Granard into my Lord Deputy's presence in the Castle of Dublin, and have his pass to come and go to, through, and back from Ulster; and though I have not His Excellency's direct commission, yet I assure your honour I am at least permitted by the Lord Deputy to acquaint the chief and others of those of the Ulster Association with his discourse to me, which was to the effect following, to wit:

"That His Excellency,

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[*] Sir Arthur Rawdon, an Episcopalian gentleman, and ancestor of the Earl of Moira, was, says Leslie, "then known by the name *Cock of the North*, because of his boldness and great forwardness in carrying on the Association."—*Answer to King*, p. 87.

"1. Does not delight in the blood and devastation of the said province, but, however, highly resents their taking and continuing in arms, and the affronts done by them to His Majesty's Government thereby, and by some indignities done to the late proclamation of clemency issued and dated the day of .

"2. Notwithstanding whereof is willing to receive the said province into protection, provided they immediately deliver up to his army for His Majesty's use their arms and serviceable horses, and provided they deliver up to His Excellency these three persons, to wit , if they remain in this kingdom, and can be had.

"3. And for further manifestation of his design to prevent blood, is willing to grant safe conduct even to the said three persons, or any other of their party to and from His Excellency, or to and from Lieutenant-General Hamilton, commander of a part of his army hereafter mentioned, if they intend any peaceable and reasonable treaty; but withal, will not upon the said or any other account stop the march of the said part of his army, no not for one hour; and if it shall appear in such treaty, that they took up arms merely for self-preservation, then he will pardon even the said three persons also, but is hopeless that any such thing can be made appear, seeing many of them have already received and accepted of commissions from the Prince of Orange, and display his colours in the field, as His Excellency is credibly informed.

"4. If these terms be not immediately agreed unto, he will with a part of his army fight them, which part he intends shall be at Newry on Monday, the 11th instant, which will from thence march to Belfast and from thence to Coleraine and Londonderry, as His Excellency intends. And that the country Irish (not of the army), men, women, and boys, now all armed with half-pikes and baggonets, in the counties of Cavan, Monaghan, Tyrone, Londonderry, etc., will upon the approach of the said part of the army, and resistance thereunto made, immediately enter upon a massacre of the British in the said counties: which force and violence of the rabble, His Excellency says he cannot restrain.

"These are the heads of what I can offer to you, to the best of my memory, from His Excellency's own mouth, but I intend to stay here this night, where if you think fit, I shall fully discourse with you of all the above particulars, whereof I hope you will give immediate notice to all chiefly concerned in your neighbourhood. This in haste is all from,

"Sir,
"Your most humble Servant,
"ALEXANDER OSBORNE."*

In addition to this letter, which contained merely the substance of the conversation (the only communication that he ever had with Tyrconnel before or afterwards), Mr. Osborne laid before the Protestant nobility and gentry, assembled on the 9th and 10th of March, a paper of private information and advice, of which the substance is as follows:—

"1. That for the Irish army, though their horses were good, yet their riders were but contemptible fellows, many of them having been lately cow-herds, etc.*

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* *Walker*, p. 47. A copy of this letter, with some slight variations, addressed to Lord Massareene, is in Leslie's *Answer to King*, Appendix, p. 15.

"2. That their provisions of ammunition were not plentiful.

"3. That, should those of the North comply with the offers made to them, they had no reason to expect any true performance; the Lord Tyrconnel having broken all such capitulations as he had lately made in the like case with the Protestants in the south and west of Ireland, and thereby reduced them to poverty and slavery.

"4. That the eyes of all Protestants were upon them. A great interest depended on their carriage; and it were better to die honourably, than live miserably under Popery and slavery; that their self-defence might be of great consequence to Britain as well as Ireland, either to their advantage or disadvantage, as their part should be well or ill acted.

"5. It was advised that they should instantly gather all the forces they could from all parts, and choose out of their best armed and trained men, to engage the enemy, and have the rest ready to fall on their wings and outskirts.

"6. It was advised also, that the conduct of their military affairs should be committed to their best known and experienced officers.

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* "Those of their present army, both officers and soldiers, are mostly the very scum of the country, cow-boys and such trash, as tremble at the firing of a musket, much more will at many."—*Ireland's Lament.*, p. 31.

"La pluspart de ces regimens, sont levez par des gentilshommes, qui n'ont jamais esté à l'armée, que se sont des tailleurs, des bouchers, des cordonniers, qui ont forme les compagnies qui les entretiennent a leurs despens, et en les capitaines."—*Avaux to Louvois*, April $\frac{16}{6}$, 1689.

"7. That they should debate with them from pass to pass, and so weary out their men, horses, and provisions, in expectation of relief from England."[*]

On the 12th of March, Mr. Osborne had another interview with the Council, and having been asked to deliver his own private judgment, he advised them "as they valued their lives and interests, not to put confidence in the Lord Tyrconnel, or any of his promises, but if they possibly could, to defend themselves to the utmost."[†] On receipt of his intelligence and advice, the Council sent to Tyrconnel the following answer to the message :—

"We declare the utter abhorrence of the effusion of blood, and that we will use all proper means to avoid it, but cannot consent to lay down our arms, which we were forced to take up for our own defence, nor to part with our goods by any other than legal means ; and that we are ready to appoint persons to treat on such heads as are consistent with the safety of our religion, lives, and liberties."

Having thus rejected the proposals of Tyrconnel, the Council caused copies of Osborne's letter to be circulated over the North of Ireland, with the view of letting the Protestants know what they might expect from Tyrconnel, and of stimulating them to a more vigorous resistance. His letter, without doubt, produced this effect upon many; but some, it would appear, misunderstood its object, and were frightened rather than roused.[‡]

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[*] Boyse's *Vindication of Osborne*, p. 16.

[†] Certificate of Lord Massareene and others in *Vindication*, p. 21.

[‡] Walker's *Vindication of his True Account*, p. 16.

The die was now cast. All hope of an arrangement had disappeared, and the only resource left was to decide the dispute by force of arms. On the 14th of March, nine Presbyterian ministers of Down and Antrim appeared before the Council at Hillsborough. On the previous day they had a meeting among themselves; only one was in favour of entering into a treaty with Tyrconnel; all the others, supported by the advice of Mr. Osborne, were against it. They now came to the Council to say that they were willing to raise in their districts a number of able-bodied men, ready to fight for King William and Queen Mary, and the Protestant religion. This offer the Council cordially accepted, and sent them away with instructions to collect their men, and to meet at Blarismore, on Tuesday, the 19th. But they were a little too late: Tyrconnel was upon them before they were aware.*

The fact was that the army of Lieutenant-General Hamilton was in Ulster before the Council of the North knew that it had left Dublin. The first intimation of its approach was obtained from Osborne. On the 11th of March, when the Protestant leaders were still in council, it had reached Newry. There was no time left them to concentrate their forces, to take up a position, or to maintain a line of defence. They were busy in consulting, corresponding, and passing resolutions, at the very time when the forces of Tyrconnel were within a few miles. They were completely taken by surprise. As Hamilton approached, the small Protestant garrisons in the more distant towns fell back, and along with them the non-fighting Protestant population; men, women, and children, either taking refuge in the fortified towns or hurrying towards the sea-coast. As they retired, they burned and destroyed everything on the expected line of march, in order to make it more difficult for the enemy to provide themselves with forage and provisions.*

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* *Vindication of Osborne*, p. 18.

At Dromore, in County Down, the Williamites, headed by Sir Arthur Rawdon, made their first stand; but, so soon as they came, with their inconsiderable numbers, in sight of the main body of Hamilton's army, they broke from their ranks and fled. They were pursued through Hillsborough, and for several miles beyond it, and lost about one hundred men in the retreat. Hillsborough Castle, with £1,000 in money, and a great store of provisions, fell into the hands of the Jacobites. To all who remained in their own houses, and who had sufficient faith to trust them, Hamilton and Colonel Sheldon granted protections; but they followed up all who retreated with arms in their hands, affording them no time to rally and concentrate their strength. Lord Mount-Alexander, disheartened by the BREAK OF DROMORE, as it was called, fled to Donaghadee, and escaped across the Channel; others followed his example, and found refuge in England and Scotland; many took protections from the enemy,† and retired to their own houses; but the main body of the Protestant forces, to the number of 4,000, headed by Sir Arthur Rawdon, Major Baker, and others, pushed forward northwards through the County Antrim, and on Friday the 15th of March succeeded in reaching Coleraine.

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* *True and Impartial Account*, p. 13.

† See *Leslie*, p. 151. Belfast was saved in this way.

There they were joined shortly afterwards by Lord Blayney, from Armagh, with seven troops of horse and eight companies of foot, having successfully repulsed, at Ardtrea Bridge, a strong detachment sent by the garrisons of Charlemont and of Mountjoy to interrupt his march; and they were farther strengthened by some of those who previously, under Colonel Stewart, had occupied Dungannon.*

The plunder of Lisburn, Antrim, and Massareene Castle proved to be so rich that a day or two was not sufficient to gather the spoil;† and it was not till the morning of Wednesday, the 27th of March, that Hamilton and his army appeared before Coleraine. Two troops of their horse had appeared so near the ramparts, the day before, that their leader was killed by a shot from the garrison; yet they did not withdraw till they had examined carefully the nature of the fortifications. These fortifications consisted of a mud wall and a deep wet ditch round three sides of the town; the river Bann, with a drawbridge upon it, protecting the fourth side. The narrative of the repulse at Coleraine, given by Sir Arthur Rawdon, is preserved by Mackenzie, and is, of course, well known; but that given by the author of the *True and Impartial Account* (probably Captain Bennet) is so rare, that we prefer to extract it:—

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* *True and Impartial Account*, p. 13; Mackenzie, *Nar.*, ch. ii.; *Ireland's Lament.*, p. 26.

† "For the first fifteen or sixteen miles [they] found nothing but ruined houses and the ditches full of household goods, meal and corn, thrown away by the Protestants to prevent its falling into the hand of their merciless, devouring enemy; but afterwards did not find so much, the people having more time to carry it with them."—*Ireland's Lament.*, p. 26.

"The enemy having thus received the garrison, sent word that they would give them a visit the next day about ten o'clock. And indeed they were as good as their promise; for about the same hour they marched up with five pieces of cannon, three whereof they planted against the gate near the river, attended with a body of dragoons, and the other two guns were planted against King's-gate, attended by a body of horse, and their foot drawn up in the centre.* They began to play very warmly at the town, and the town as hotly at them; but there being many hedges and gardens near the works, the enemy's foot got into them, which much preserved them from the shot of the town, as also did a water-mill very near the town, where about thirty or forty of the grenadiers got, and galled the townsmen on the works. This dispute lasted till near night; and when they found there was no good to be done with the town, marched off their foot in a shower of snow, so that the town could not observe their motion. When the foot were clearly drawn off, the dragoons followed, and then the horse marched; but in such confusion and disorder they were, that had the town sallied out with some troops of horse and a brisk party of foot, they certainly had ruined the enemy, who were so terrified at a great body of horse (being the Lord Blaney's regiment) and some foot drawn out on a hill beyond the town, that they dropped two of their cannon on the road, with much of their baggage and luggage, and the next morning came and brought them away, having lost about sixty men the day before, and several wounded, amongst whom Sir Gregory Byrne was shot in the head, but recovered of the wound."*

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* Avaux mentions that three of these guns were twelve-pounders, and two of them four.

The news of this repulse reached Dublin on Saturday, and it was this which determined the king to take the step which the French ambassador had hitherto urged in vain—to send forward to the North the main body of the army to reinforce Hamilton.† It afterwards was known that the Jacobites had but two days' provisions with them, and that they appeared before Coleraine in hope that, for fear of them, their opponents would not show fight. In this hope they found themselves mistaken.‡

Repulsed from Coleraine, the Jacobite army relinquished the hope of passing into the County Derry at that point; and they spread themselves along the County Antrim side of the Bann, where, seizing on some boats, which, owing to some neglect or mistake, the Williamites had failed to destroy, they tried at various points to force the passage of the river. The aim of their opponents was to hold the line of the Bann, and, if possible, to prevent the passage. In order to accomplish this, the bridge at Portglenone was broken down. Two regiments of foot and some troops of horse on the Derry side watched the movements of the enemy, marching and halting as they marched and halted; while the main body was broken up into small detachments, which were stationed at various points all along the western side from Lough Neagh to the Bar-mouth. Sir Arthur Rawdon was stationed at Moneymore to oppose Gordon O'Neill, who was expected to come in the direction of Charlemont; Colonel Canning at Magherafelt, Colonel Skeffington at Toome, Major Mitchelburn (afterwards governor of Derry) at Newferry, Colonel Edmonstone at Portglenone, Sir John Magill at Kilrea, Captain Blair at Agivey, and Sir Tristram Beresford, with 3,000 men, occupied Coleraine. The line of defence, extending for nearly thirty miles, was much too long to be well guarded by so small a force. The result was, that the enemy succeeded in making their way across. On Sunday, the 7th of April,* before break of day, a party of sixty succeeded in passing the Bann a little above the bridge at Portglenone, under the guidance of Captain Nugent, youngest son of the Earl of Westmeath, and landed on the County Derry side. In the attempt to resist this, Colonel Edmonstone and the Williamites were defeated, and Captain James Magill, a gallant young soldier, was slain. In the same encounter Captain Henly, another officer, was wounded, but received quarter from the Irish, and was sent to an hospital, where he finally recovered.†

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* *True and Impartial Account*, p. 17.

† *Avaux to Louis*, from Dublin, $\frac{14 \text{ April}}{4 \text{ April}}$, 1689.

‡ *Avaux to Louis*, from Dublin, April $\frac{16}{6}$, 1689.

Having failed in the attempt to maintain the line of the Bann, the Protestant forces had every reason to fear that the enemy, passing down the western side of the river, might cut off their retreat from Derry, shut them up in Coleraine, and compel them to stand a siege in a town which was not provided with enough ammunition or provisions to enable it to hold out. Three weeks before, Lundy had been counselling the Protestant leaders to fall back on Derry, where he said that he had stored provisions sufficient for a whole year, and whither he would take care to bring stacks of hay and corn, great numbers of which he had observed along the way between Derry and Coleraine. They had then declined his suggestion to evacuate Coleraine; but now that the passage of the Bann was forced, this became a military necessity.* The garrison, therefore, cut down a part of the bridge, burned the rest, and then, in common with their comrades, who had now for a fortnight guarded the passes of the river, crossed the range of dark hills which form the central backbone of the county, destroying and burning as they passed along, and, in company with numbers of the country people, who fled in terror of King James's army, marched to Derry. They arrived without a general, but many brought with them stores of provisions, which they had gathered upon the way. There, from every part of Ulster, with the exception of gallant Enniskillen, that never learned how to retreat, multitudes of men without officers, and of officers without men, women and children, peasants and artizans untrained to battle, carrying with them all the movables that it was in their power to carry, hurried to find shelter behind its walls. To the number of thirty thousand in all they assembled, of which some seven thousand were found qualified for military duty. In that number the city and county were well represented; but Antrim, Down, Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Donegal—in fact, every part of Ulster where Protestantism had found a home—sent a contingent to the siege.*

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* *True and Impartial Account*, p. 18, says this happened on the 10th of April.

† Sir Arthur Rawdon in *Mackenzie*, ch. ii.; *True and Impartial Account*, pp. 17, 18.

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* The news of the evacuation of Coleraine reached King James at Charlemont on the 12th April (*Avaux*, p. 91). The news sent out from Dungannon by Pusignan to Avaux on the $\frac{\text{9th April}}{\text{30th March}}$ was premature, or else there is some inaccuracy in the date.

The five months, which had now elapsed since the shutting of the gates, had done something to put the city in a better position for defence, though it is certain much more might have been done if Lundy had been hearty in the work. But the fact was, that he gave himself very little concern in the affair: everything done was done by others independently of him. A ravelin, or outwork, was ordered by the Town Committee at Derry to be erected for the protection of Bishop's-gate. To contradict a rumour that the gentlemen and officers meant to desert the people, and that the citizens would refuse admittance to the Protestant troops, in case they were beaten at Coleraine, a *Declaration of Union* was drawn up and signed by the leading officers in the army and inhabitants of the city, binding themselves to stand to each other and to help each other in their present extremity.

DECLARATION OF UNION.

"Whereas, either by folly or weakness of friends, or craft and stratagem of enemies, some rumours and reflections are spread among the vulgar, that the Right Honourable the Lord Blaney, Sir Arthur Rawdon, Lieut.-Colonel Maxwell, and other gentlemen and officers of quality, are resolved to take protections from the Irish, and desert the general service for defence of the Protestant party in this kingdom, to the great discouragement of such who are so weak as to give credit to so false, scandalous, and malicious a report. For wiping off which aspersion, and clearing the minds of all Protestant friends wheresoever from all suspicions and jealousies of that kind or otherwise, it is hereby unanimously DECLARED, protested, and published to all men by Colonel Robert Lundy, Governor of Derry, the said Lord Blaney, Sir Arthur Rawdon, and other officers and gentlemen subscribing hereunto, that they and their forces and soldiers are entirely united among themselves, and fully and absolutely resolved to oppose the Irish enemy with their utmost force, and to continue the war against them to the last, for their own and all Protestants' preservation in this kingdom. And the Committee of Londonderry, for themselves, and for all the citizens of the said city, do hereby declare, protest, and publish to all men, that they are heartily and sincerely united with the said Colonel Robert Lundy, Lord Blaney, Sir Arthur Rawdon, and all others that join in this common cause, and with all their force and utmost power will labour to carry on the said war. And if it should happen that our party should be so oppressed by the Irish enemy that they should be forced to retire into this city for shelter against them (which God forbid), the said Lord Blaney, Sir Arthur Rawdon, and their forces, and all other Protestant friends, shall be readily received into this city, and, as much as in us lies, be cherished and supported by us.

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* Mackenzie, *Nar.*, ch. ii.; *Londerias*, ii. 5; *True and Impartial Account*, p. 18.

"Dated at Londonderry, the 21st of March, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

"Robert Lundy.
Blaney.
William Stewart.
Arthur Rawdon.
George Maxwell.
James Curry.
John Forward.
Hugh MacGill.
William Ponsonby.
H. Baker.
Chich. Fortescue.
James Brabazon.
John Hill.
Samuel Norman.
Alexander Tomkins.
Mathew Cocken.
Horas Kennedy } *Sheriffs.*
Edward Brookes }
Alexander Lecky.
Francis Nevill.
James Lennox.
Frederick Cowsingham.
John Leslie.
Henry Long.
William Crookshanks.
Massareene.
Clot. Skeffington.
Arthur Upton.
Samuel Morrison.
Thomas Cole.
Francis Foster.
Edward Cary.
John Cowan.
Kilner Brasier.
James Hamilton.
John Sinclare."*

On the same day, the 21st of March, Captain James Hamilton arrived from England, bringing with him 8,000 stand of arms for the garrison, 480 barrels of powder, and £595 in money; † a supply so necessary, that without it the defence of the city would have been impossible. He acted under written instructions, of which a copy has been preserved.‡

Hamilton, in addition to the supplies, brought with him a commission for Colonel Lundy, which, along with the stores, was to be given to him upon his taking the oath of fidelity to King William. He also brought with him the following instructions for the Governor of Derry :—

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* Walker's *True Account*, App., p. 41.

† Journal of House of Commons in *Hempton*, p. 393; *True and Impartial Account*, p. 16.

‡ See Appendix, No. 6.

"Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy, Commander-in-Chief of the town and garrison of Londonderry, or in his absence to the Commander-in-Chief there.

"Having taken into our consideration the danger that at present threatens the Protestant interest in that kingdom, and how much it concerns the good of our subjects that all our garrisons there be in as good a posture of defence as may be, we, therefore, reposing trust and confidence in your good affection and courage, have thought fit hereby to direct you :

"1. That you do, upon receipt hereof, buy and furnish that garrison with such necessary provisions and ammunition as may enable it to subsist and make defence for some time, in case of any attack.

"2. That, for its better defence, you do break down such bridges, and cut up such dikes and sluices, as, in your judgment, shall be thought necessary.

"3. That you take special care in preserving the gates of the town, the guns with their carriages, as well as the fortifications of the place, in good order and repair, and that you add such works as you shall find necessary.

"4. That, on prospect of any more imminent danger, you do pull down such houses, and fell and cut down such trees, as may prove in the least a prejudice to its defence.

"5. That you put and set up pallisades in such places as shall be thought necessary, and that you do and provide for the defence of that place what else you shall upon due consideration judge requisite.

"6. And to that end you are to receive and dispose of the thousand pounds which shall be remitted to you, to the best advantage of our service, and the safety of that garrison, and to transmit an account thereof hither.

"7. That you also send hither, from time to time, as opportunities offer, a true and particular account of the condition of that place to one of our principal secretaries of state.

"8. That you also cause the oath herewith sent you, to be taken by all the officers, both civil and military, in that town and garrison.—Given, etc., 21st February, 168$\frac{8}{9}$." *

Captain Hamilton carried out his instructions faithfully, with the exception that the oath of allegiance was not administered to Colonel Lundy so publicly as it should have been. When he and Sir Arthur Rawdon, with others, went aboard ship in the harbour to wait on Captain Hamilton, after some discourse, Sir Arthur and Mr. Wm. Ponsonby were requested to withdraw, and they stood upon the deck with Captain Beverley, while Hamilton and Lundy were together in the cabin. Sir Arthur heard the next day that Lundy had taken the oath on this occasion, and Henry Mervyn and James Corry afterwards testified that they were present when it was administered to him by Hamilton. Perhaps there was some difficulty in knowing who was Mayor accord-

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* *Mackenzie*, Appendix.

ing to law; but no person professing to be Mayor was present, and the secrecy with which the oath was administered and taken, did not in the end promote the interests of either. It excited suspicion, and this suspicion was confirmed on the next day, when the Town Committee at Derry desired that Lundy should take the oaths, and he absolutely refused, on the plea that he had taken them the day before. A few others refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns; but it was taken, Mr. Campsie acting as Mayor, by the sheriffs, aldermen, officers, and the great bulk of the citizens, Lundy giving his assistance. Next day, the 22nd of March, William and Mary were proclaimed in Derry with great rejoicing, and the day after, Mr. Philips set out for England, to carry an address to King William and to seek for additional supplies.*

Had Lundy been an honest and honourable man, he would have either refused entirely to take the oath, or he would have taken it in presence of the whole city. But treachery was in his heart. He secretly took the oath to King William, and yet he could not have served King James better than he did, had he been on General Hamilton's staff. Had he been true in his profession of loyalty to William, he would have turned to good account those three months during which he acted as Governor before the siege commenced. In that time he would have trained the city companies to use their arms; he would have laid in a stock of provisions; he would have planted garrisons, defended passes, taken means to maintain every inch of ground, and used every method that a competent soldier knows, in order to harass the enemy on their march. But instead of this he made a show of resistance sufficient to lead the Protestants to believe that he meant to fight, while he carefully disposed matters so that the army of King James would, in a week or two, have the whole North of Ireland helpless at its feet without being under the necessity of having to fight a battle. Taking advantage of the confidence which the Protestants reposed in him as a man of military experience and of religious sentiments similar to their own, he acted exactly as he might be expected to do had his object been to leave them at the mercy of their foes. An honourable man we can respect and admire, no matter for what king he fought; one can admire the gallantry of Sarsfield and Nugent on the one side, as much as that of Murray and Noble on the other; but the base and deceitful conduct of Lundy can be approved by no man, Catholic or Protestant, who has within him a single spark of principle or honour.

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* Sir Arthur Rawdon, in *Walker's Invisible Champion;* Journal of House of Commons, in *Hempton*, pp. 391-400; *Mackenzie's Narrative a false Libel*, p. 16; *Walker*, March 23rd.

The policy that he carried out was to induce every garrison in the North to retreat to Derry, and then to persuade the city to surrender to the enemy, on the ground that the store of provisions was insufficient, and that the place could not be defended. His position as governor of Derry, a lieutenant-colonel in the army, and a Protestant, secured for him the confidence of the Protestants, and gave him the power to do mischief. Colonel Stewart occupied the fort at Dungannon, and had in his possession a considerable quantity of provisions.

Lundy, about the 14th of March,* ordered him to retreat to Derry, and as the military governor of Derry was recognised by the Council of northern gentry as commander-in-chief in the north-west of Ulster, Colonel Stewart did not consider it wise to refuse obedience. The garrison at Dungannon broke up accordingly, some marching to Derry and some to Coleraine; the effect of which was that the stores collected there, as at a central depôt, fell into the hands of the Jacobite garrison at Charlemont; and Gordon O'Neill (son of Sir Phelim Roe) and Lord Galmoy were enabled to march on Moneymore and compel the detachment stationed there to retreat to Derry.† King James's army afterwards took advantage of the free communication thus opened between Derry and Dublin, and were materially aided by having Dungannon in their hands.

But much the worst part of Lundy's behaviour was his treatment of Lord Kingston. That nobleman was at the head of the Protestant garrison of Sligo, and thus held in his possession the key of Connaught. With Sligo and Enniskillen in the hands of the Protestants, all entrance into Ulster by way of Connaught was made impossible to the Jacobites. But on the 20th of March, an order from Lundy reached Lord Kingston to march in haste to Derry. Having taken the advice of his officers, he evacuated Sligo, in compliance with orders, at the head of a thousand men; and when, on the 24th of March, he had reached Ballyshannon, another order came from Lundy, commanding him to stop there and to guard the passes of the Erne. It was now too late to retrieve the false step which had been taken, for he was scarcely out of Sligo till the Jacobites entered it and occupied his place. There was, therefore, no alternative except to stay at Ballyshannon. But this was not all. On the 11th of April, Lundy wrote Lord Kingston again, saying he had formed a garrison in Derry, and would provide for his lordship accommodation for eighty horse and three hundred foot, *if he pleased to come hither.* And then, after it was agreed, at the council of war held in Derry, to meet the Jacobite forces at the passes of the Finn, he wrote on the 13th of April for Lord Kingston to send him assistance at Cladyford. The despatch did not reach Ballyshannon till late on Sunday night, the 14th of April, when it was impossible for his lordship to have his men forward in time. Next morning, however, he and a small party rode forward as far as Stranorlar, where he met some of the Protestants fleeing from Cladyford, and found that the Jacobite army had got between him and Derry. His lordship then ordered his horse to go to Enniskillen, where they afterwards rendered excellent service to that garrison; and he stationed his foot in Ballyshannon and in the town of Donegal. He himself seized a French vessel which lay at Killybegs, and sailed for Scotland to report the state of matters to the King.*

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* *16th of March.*—Swan's evidence before committee. *Hempton*, p. 392.

† Walker's *True Account*, March 14th.

A fortnight before Hamilton's army crossed the Bann, Lundy had urged the Protestant forces to fall back, saying that he could spare no ammunition to defend Coleraine, but that he had collected in Derry provisions sufficient to last a year. But the fact was that he took no pains to provision the city, and any stores that found their way there were brought by others.* When at last the Protestant forces, retreating from the Bann, reached Derry, they found that, so far as Lundy was concerned, nothing was done; not only so, but that he spoke so despondingly of the ability of the city to sustain a siege that many were disheartened, and, even before the Jacobites arrived, some had fled away to Scotland and England. As early as the 10th of April, when Counsellor Cairns returned from London to Derry, he found, to his surprise, that many officers had already left, and that, owing to the discouraging way in which the Governor spoke, many others were preparing to depart.†

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* Lord Kingston's Account in Mackenzie, *Nar.*, ch. ii. Evidence before Committee of House of Commons in *Hempton*, p. 392. Letter of Walker in *A True Account*, p. 31. *True and Impartial Account*, p. 22.

Mr. Cairns brought with him the following letter from King William to Lundy:—

"WHITEHALL, 8TH MARCH, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

"SIR,—I am commanded by the King to acquaint you that His Majesty's greatest concern hath been for Ireland, and particularly for the Province of Ulster, which he looks upon as most capable to defend itself against the common enemy. And that they might be the better enabled to do it, there are two regiments already at the sea-side ready to embark, in order to their transportation into the province, with which will be sent a good quantity of arms and ammunition, and they will be speedily followed by so considerable a body, as (by the blessing of God) may be able to rescue the whole kingdom, and resettle the Protestant interest there. His Majesty does very much rely upon your fidelity and resolution, not only that you should acquit yourself according to the character he has received of you, but that you should encourage and influence others in this difficult conjuncture to discharge their duty to their country, their religion, and their property, all which call upon them for a more than ordinary vigour, to keep out that deluge of Popery and slavery which so nearly threatens them.

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* Evidence in *Hempton*, p. 400.

† *Mackenzie*, 10th April.

"And you may assure them, that besides His Majesty's care for their preservation, who hath a due tenderness and regard for them (as well in consideration that they are his subjects, as that they are now exposed for the sake of that religion which he himself professes), the whole bent of this nation inclines them to employ their utmost endeavours for their deliverance; and it was but this very morning that His Majesty hath most effectually recommended the case of Ireland to the two Houses of Parliament, and I do not doubt but they will thereupon immediately come to such resolutions as will show to all the world that they espouse his interest as their own.

"As to your own particular, you will always find the King graciously disposed to own and reward the services you shall do him in such a time of trial.

"And for my part, whatever I can contribute either to the general service of that kingdom, or to your own particular satisfaction, I shall never be wanting in. Sir, your very humble servant,

"Shrewsbury.

"Subscribed for Colonel Lundy, Governor of Londonderry." *

Such a letter from his King would have stirred the blood of a soldier, and nerved him to any effort which it was possible to make; it could fall coldly upon the heart of none, except a coward or a traitor. It produced, as might be expected, no effect on Lundy. Along with this communication, Mr. Cairns carried with him written instructions from Government for his own guidance,† and a certificate from Lord Shrewsbury, dated the 11th March, 1689, stating that for two months previously he had waited constantly on His Majesty and the Privy Council in the interests of Derry, and had behaved with "prudence, diligence, and faithfulness."

At the instance of Mr. Cairns, a Council of War was held in Derry on the evening of the day of his arrival, and to it these documents were submitted: whereupon the following arrangements were entered into by the officers present, and agreed to as Articles of War:—

At a Council of War, at Londonderry, present—

Colonel Robert Lundy.
Colonel James Hamilton.
Colonel Hugh Montgomery.
Lieut.-Colonel Whitney.
Lieut.-Colonel White.
Lieut.-Colonel Johnston.
Lieut.-Colonel Shaw.
Major Barry.

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* *Mackenzie*, Appendix.

† See a copy of this document in *Appendix*, No. 7.

Major TUBMAN.
Lord BLAYNEY.
Sir NICH. ATCHISON.
Colonel FRANCIS HAMILTON.
Lieut.-Colonel PONSONBY.
Major CROFTON.
Major HILL.
Major PHILLIPS.
Captain HUGH MACGILL.

"1. Resolved—That a mutual engagement be made between all the officers of this garrison and the forces adjoining, and to be signed by every man. That none shall desert or forsake the service, or depart the kingdom without leave of a council of war. If any do, he or they shall be looked upon as a coward, and disaffected to the service.

"2. That a thousand men shall be chosen to be part of this garrison, and joined with the soldiers already herein, to defend the city; the officers of which thousand, and the garrison officers, are to enter into the engagement aforesaid.

"3. That all officers and soldiers of any of our forces, in their neighbourhood, not of this garrison, shall forthwith repair to their respective quarters and commands.

"4. That all colonels and commanders of every regiment, or independent troop or company, be now armed and fitted, that so we may take up resolutions for field service accordingly: the lists to be sent hither by Saturday next.

"5. That the several officers in their respective quarters shall take care to send in provisions to the magazines of this garrison, for supply thereof: and take care that they leave with the owner thereof some of their victuals and provisions for their own support, and to send in spades, shovels, and pick-axes.

"6. That the thousand men to be taken into this garrison shall have the old houses about the walls and ditches without the gates divided among them, to be levelled with all possible speed.

"7. That the several battalions and companies in the city shall have their several stations and posts assigned them, to which they shall repair upon any sudden alarm.

"8. That all persons of this garrison, upon beating of the retreat every night, shall repair to their several quarters and lodgings.

"9. That a pair of gallows shall be erected in one of the bastions, upon the south-west of the city, whereupon all mutinous or treacherous persons of this garrison shall be executed, who shall be condemned thereunto by a court-martial.

"10. That the articles of war shall be read at the head of every regiment, battalion, troop, or company; and that all soldiers shall be punished for their transgressing them, according to the said articles.

"11. That every soldier of the garrison, and non-commissioned officers, shall be weekly allowed out of the magazines, eight quarts of meal, four pounds of fish, and three pounds of flesh for his weekly subsistence.

"12. That every soldier, and non-commissioned officer, shall be allowed a quart of small beer per diem, as soon as the same can be provided, until some money shall come to allow them pay.—Agreed upon at the said Council of War, and ordered to be copied." *

As a means of checking the desertion, now grown so

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* *Mackenzie*, App., p. 55.

frequent, it was proposed by Colonel James Hamilton, and unanimously agreed to, that the officers present should subscribe and issue a declaration, to the effect that in future none should leave the kingdom without leave of a council of war :—

"We, the officers hereunto subscribing, pursuant to a resolution taken and agreed upon, at a council of war at Londonderry, held this day, do hereby mutually promise and engage, to stand by each other with our forces against the common enemy, and will not leave the kingdom, nor desert the public service, until our affairs are in a settled and secure posture. And if any of us shall do the contrary, the person so leaving the kingdom or deserting the service, without consent of a council of war, is to be deemed a coward, and disaffected to their Majesties' service, and the Protestant interest.

"Dated the 10th of April, 1689.

"Paulet Phillips.
Hugh Magill.
Richard Crofton.
John Hill.
George Hamilton.
Arthur Upton.
Robert Lundy.
Blayney.
Arthur Rawdon.
William Shaw.
Richard Whaley.

"Jas. Hamilton.
Nich. Atchison.
Hugh Montgomery.
Thomas Whitney.
William Ponsonby.
Richard Johnson.
John Forward.
Ger. Squire.
J. Blaney.
John Tubman.
Daniel M'Neill."*

A copy of this resolution was affixed to the Market-house, and when read in the morning at the head of each battalion, it was received by the people with acclamation and approval. The effect of all this was to induce the soldiery and the citizens to believe that Lundy meant to fight; an appearance which it was necessary to maintain for a few days longer.

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* *Mackenzie*, 10th April.

So soon as the Jacobite army had crossed the Bann, and found that the enemy had retired, it pushed forward through the county, now entirely wasted by the Protestants, and reached the Waterside of Derry on Saturday, the 13th of April. The vanguard of their horse on that day came within sight of the town. On finding before them a broad and deep river which they had no means of crossing, they fired one shot against the Ferry-gate; but Lundy was as sparing of his ammunition as if he had intended to use it, and the gunner on the walls had not the power of returning the salute.* Unable to pass over the Foyle at any place adjacent to the city, they turned up towards Strabane, in order to find some spot where the stream was fordable. Next day they reached Lifford, where Captain Hamill and Major Crofton exchanged shots with them across the stream during the night, crossed the Mourne, and prepared at an early hour on Monday, the 15th, for fording the Finn. These two streams, the Finn and Mourne, unite at Lifford, and from their junction to the sea the river is designated the Foyle.

The multitude of men collected in the city now began to express dissatisfaction that no more effectual means had been taken to check the advance of the enemy and to put the town in a better position for defence. It was surely full time, now that the enemy were in sight. A council of war was called on Saturday. By it Lundy was formally appointed commander in the field. Orders were given to burn and throw down the houses outside the walls on both sides of the river, lest they should afford shelter to the enemy; and a resolution was passed calling upon all who were willing to fight for their religion and their country, to meet at Lifford on the following Monday :—

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* Evidence before the House of Commons' Committee: *Hempton*, p. 394.

"Londonderry, April 13th, 1689.

"At a general council of war, resolved unanimously, that on Monday next, by ten o'clock, all officers and soldiers, horse, dragoons, and foot, and all other armed men whatsoever of our forces and friends, enlisted or not enlisted, that can or will fight for their country and religion against Popery, shall appear on the fittest ground near Cladyford, Lifford, and Long-Causy, as shall be nearest to their several and respective quarters, there to draw up in battalions to be ready to fight the enemy, and to preserve our lives, and all that is dear to us from them. And all officers and soldiers, of horse, foot, dragoons, and others that are armed, are required to be then there, in order to the purpose aforesaid, and to bring a week's provision at least with them, for men, and as much forage as they can for horses.

"Robert Lundy.
William Stuart.
James Hamilton.
Francis Hamilton.
Nicholas Atchison.
Hugh Montgomery.
George Hamilton.
Francis White.

"Jo. Tubman.
Jo. Barry.
C. Fronde.
Hugh MacGill.
Jo. Hill.
Jo. Hamilton.
Jo. Forward.
Kilner Brasier.
Walter Dawson.
Paulet Phillips."*

Beyond the issue of this sham order, that was sent off to the most distant garrisons, even to Ballyshannon and Enniskillen, which it was well known could not by any possibility reach the place of rendezvous at the time mentioned, nothing was done to resist the enemy. The small detachments stationed at the fords of the Finn were not strengthened; they were not supplied with ammunition: no earthworks were thrown up by way of defence. Major Stroud advised that harrows should be sunk at the fords, so as to make it difficult for horses to pass, but the advice was not taken. Mr. Cairns urged the commander-in-chief to make sure of being at the fords before the enemy, but he urged in vain. To have planted a strong guard at each pass, to have kept the guards well supplied with ammunition, to have concentrated his forces, so as to give efficient aid at any quarter where there was most need, was the manifest duty of a general in his circumstances. But Lundy undertook to do everything, and he did nothing. He did not leave Derry for the scene of conflict till ten o'clock on Monday morning.† Before that hour the critical moment had passed.

Meanwhile, King James's army had lost no time. Strengthened by a junction at Strabane, with the main body sent forward by the King from Dublin,* and encouraged by their numerical superiority over the handful of men sent from Derry to oppose them, they took the stream at Cladyford on Monday morning, the 15th of April, and under command of the French officer, General Rosen, they successfully passed the river, with the loss of only two men, who were drowned.† Lundy had sent thirty men, under command of Captain Murray, to guard the ford, and had drawn upon his store of ammunition so liberally as to supply them with three charges a man. Not supported in any way, this guard was soon obliged, when the enemy took the stream, to fall back on the main body, which was beginning to concentrate. The Irish horse, seeing that the enemy were fleeing before their first ranks had done little more than reach the opposite bank, dashed with enthusiasm into the stream, each man bringing over with him a foot-soldier clinging to the tail or the mane of his horse, and pressed to the other side. Had there been at hand a sufficient force to have attacked them at that moment, when they were separated from the main body, their clothes and ammunition wet, and their cannon still on the other side, nothing could have saved them from destruction. But they had nothing to fear.

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* *Mackenzie*, 13th April. MacCarmick's *Further Account*, p. 34.

† *Evidence* in Hempton, p. 395.

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* Their behaviour on the way is thus described by Avaux: "Jamais troupes n'ont marché comme font celles cy, ils vont comme des bandis et pillent tout ce qu'ils trouvent en chemin." They lived by pillage, as they had little or no pay.—*Avaux to Louvois* from Charlemont, $\frac{23}{13}$ April, 1689.

† "The Irish also very much lament the loss of Major Robert Nangle (the son of Tory Nangle, that was shot at Longford Bridge), who, together with two others, was drowned, while they endeavoured to get over the pass at Clawdeeford."—*Good News from Londonderry.*

Lundy had taken good care that King James's soldiers should not be seriously molested.

The main body of the Williamites, in process of concentrating at a few miles' distance, did not wait for the enemy to come up. Seeing their own men retreating, and the forces of Hamilton not only across the river, but in full pursuit, they were seized with a sudden panic, and fled ignominiously without ever firing a shot. Those who fled in the direction of Raphoe were pursued by the horse, and Colonel Montgomery's regiment suffered severely. At the Long-Causeway, Colonel Francis Hamilton rallied the troops, but the Irish did not come that way; and then, fearing that the enemy might get between him and the city, he also fell back. Ten thousand men, who, under good command, and well supplied with ammunition, might have kept their ground against any equal number of soldiery in the kingdom, ran away from a mere handful of men half drowned in crossing a deep river, and not very well able to fight. After they had fled from the field and were well forward on the road to Derry, they met the commander-in-chief on his way to the field; but instead of rallying his men or attempting to cover their retreat and bring them off without loss, he fled among the rest, saying that "Derry was his post." When the fugitives came within three or four miles of the city, they met the ammunition, which had only got so far on its way to the field. Lundy reached the town before the main body of the army. So soon as he and they had got within the walls, he ordered the gates to be shut; the result of which was that several thousand persons, including those who had kept their ground at the Long-Causeway after the others fled, and had in reality covered the retreat, as well as many helpless Protestants fleeing before the Irish army, were obliged to lie all night outside the walls. He afterwards alleged that his reason for shutting so many of his own men outside the gates was to save the provisions in the city, which, of course, with the idea of surrender that he had in his mind, was a mere pretence. Had Hamilton's horse rode boldly up to the gates that night, they would certainly have cut off many of those who afterwards proved among the most gallant defenders of the city. It was not till the next morning, and with some difficulty even then, that those who were excluded made good their way into the town.*

On the very day that this disgraceful affair occurred at Cladyford, Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Richards arrived in Lough Foyle from England, with nine ships and a man of war, conveying two regiments, consisting of 1600 men, sent by King William to assist the garrison. They had instructions in all things regarding His Majesty's service to take orders from Colonel Lundy.† Farther, Colonel Cunningham carried with him instructions from the King to Colonel Lundy, of which the following is a copy:—

"Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved Robert Lundy, Esquire, Governor of our City and Garrison of Londonderry, in our kingdom of Ireland.

"Whereas, we have thought fit to send two of our regiments of foot, under the command of Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Solomon Richards, for the relief of our city of Londonderry; we do hereby authorise and empower you to admit the said regiments into our said city, and to give such orders concerning their quarters, duty, and service, during their stay in those parts, as you shall think fit for the security of the said city and country thereabouts.

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* Evidence in *Hempton*, pp. 394-400; *Walker*, April 13th; *Mack.*, April 15th; *True and Impartial Account*, p. 19.

† See Appendix, No. 8.

"And, whereas, we are sending to our said city of Londonderry, further succours of money, men, arms, and provisions of war, we do expect from your courage, prudence, and conduct, that in the mean time you make the best defence you can against all persons that shall attempt to besiege the said city, or to annoy our Protestant subjects within the same, or within the neighbouring parts; and that you hinder the enemy from possessing themselves of any passes near or leading to the said city; giving all aid and assistance you may with safety to such as shall desire it, and receiving into the said town such Protestant officers and men able and fit to bear arms as you may confide in, whom you are to form into companies, and to cause to be well exercised and disciplined, taking care withal that you do not take in more unuseful people, women and children, into the said city than there shall be a provision sufficient to maintain, besides the garrison. You are to give us an account as soon as may be, and so from time to time, of the condition of our city of Londonderry, the fortifications, number, quality, and affections of the people, soldiers, and others therein, or in the country thereabouts; and what quantity of provisions, of all sorts, for horse, foot, and dragoons, shall or may be bought up or secured in those parts for our service, without the necessity of bringing the same from England, upon sending of more forces thither.

"Lastly, we do recommend unto you, that you entertain good correspondence and friendship with the officers of the said regiments, and more especially with the respective colonels of the same; not doubting but by your joint counsels, and by your own courage, as well as your affection to the Protestant religion, which we shall not fail to reward with our royal favour and bounty, the said city will continue under our obedience, until, upon the arrival of an army, which we are sending from England, all things shall be in such a posture as that we may there, with the blessing of God, restore in a short time our kingdom of Ireland to its former peace and tranquility.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 12th day of March, 1688-9, in the first year of our reign.

"By His Majesty's command."

Carrying with him these instructions, Colonel Cunningham arrived at the mouth of Lough Foyle on Monday morning, the 15th of April. That day at ten o'clock in the forenoon, he sent a messenger from Greencastle to report his arrival to Lundy. At two o'clock, from Redcastle, he sent a second message to Lundy, couched in the following terms:—

"From on board the *Swallow*, near Redcastle, at two in the afternoon, 15th April, 1689.

"SIR,—Hearing you have taken the field, in order to fight the enemy, I have thought it fit for their Majesties' service, to let you know there are two well disciplined regiments here on board, that may join you in two days at farthest; I am sure they will be of great use on any occasion, but especially for the encouragement of raw men, as I judge most of yours are; therefore it is my opinion that you only stop the passes at the fords of Fin till I can join you, and afterwards if giving battle be necessary, you will be in a much better posture for it than before. I must ask your pardon if I am too free in my advice; according to the remote prospect I have of things, this seems most reasonable to me, but as their Majesties have left the whole direction of matters to you, so you shall find that no man living will more cheerfully obey you than your humble servant,

"JOHN CUNNINGHAM."

No answer having been received to either communication, owing to the fact that Lundy in the forenoon had left for Cladyford, Colonel Cunningham at nine o'clock in the evening sent a third message, from Culmore, asking for instructions. Major Tiffin, the bearer of this message, on his way between Culmore and the city, met a person sent by Lundy with his reply to the letters sent by Cunningham in the early part of the day. This messenger Major Tiffin took back with him to the city, whereupon Lundy opened his own letter and added a postcript to it. The letter and postcript are as follows:—

"To Colonel John Cunningham.

"SIR,—I am come back much sooner than I expected, when I went forth; for having numbers placed on Fin water, as I went to a pass, where a few might oppose a greater number than came to the place, I found them on the run before the enemy, who pursued with great vigour, and I fear march on with their forces; so that I wish your men would march all night in good order, lest they be surprised; here they shall have all the accommodation the place will afford. In this hurry pardon me for this brevity; the rest the bearer will inform you.—I rest, Sir, your faithful servant,

"ROBERT LUNDY."

"*Londonderry*, *April* 15, 1689.

"If the men be not landed, let them land and march immediately."

"SIR,—Since the writing of this, Major Tiffin is come here, and I have given him my opinion fully, which I believe when you hear and see the place, you will both join with me: that without an immediate supply of money and provisions, this place must fall very soon into the enemy's hands. If you do not send your men here some time to-morrow, it will not be in your power to bring them at all. Till we discourse the matter, I remain, dear Sir, your most faithful servant,

"ROBERT LUNDY."

The account that Lundy gave Major Tiffin in conversation was that affairs were in great confusion—much worse indeed than could be imagined; that the city did not contain as much provision as would sustain three thousand men for ten days; and that it would be as well to let the English soldiers remain aboard, and for the colonel to come ashore himself with his officers, to consult what, under the circumstances, was best to be done.

Next day, the two English colonels, each with three or four of his officers, went up to Derry, and uniting with Lundy and a select few of the officers and gentry, held a Council of War. The following members were present:—

Chidley-Coot.
James Hamilton.
Cornwall
Echlin.
Traunter.
Lyndon.
Captains of Cunning. Reg.

Lundy.
Blayney.
Cunningham.
Richards.
Hussey.
Tiffin.
Pearson.
Pache.
Taylor.
Captains of Richards' Reg.

To this Council none of the citizens, except Mugridge the Town Clerk, was admitted. Various officers, who had been in the habit of attending former councils, sought admittance and were refused. Cunningham and Richards, with their officers, were entire strangers. The others had come to the town but a week or two before. None present knew anything about the provisions and means of standing a siege which the city possessed, except what Lundy told him; and he now told them what he told Major Tiffin the night before—that the city, from its position, was untenable, as they might see for themselves; that the stock of provisions was so scanty that it would not last more than eight or ten days; that the enemy, 25,000 strong, were now within four or five miles of the place; and that the garrison, who were a mere rabble, instead of fighting would in all probability behave as they did yesterday at Cladyford. On the ground of these considerations, Lundy proposed that they should quit the town. Colonel Richards said that it should be understood that "in quitting the town they were quitting the kingdom." One answered that "he would be hanged for no man's pleasure;" another said "he would go home, let who would be displeased." In short, the English officers were completely hoodwinked. Not suspecting treachery, and never supposing that the Governor could be ignorant of the preparations made for the siege, and seeing for themselves the position of the city, they were easily persuaded that to maintain the place for any time against an army so well officered and so well armed as Hamilton's was understood to be, was hopeless. The resolution at which they unanimously arrived was couched in the following terms:—

"Upon enquiry, it appears that there is not provision in the garrison of Londonderry for the present garrison, and the two regiments on board, for above a week, or ten days at most; and it appearing that the place is not tenable against a well-appointed army, therefore it is concluded upon and resolved, that it is not convenient for His Majesty's service, but the contrary, to land the two regiments under Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Richards, their command now on board on the river of Lough Foyle; that, considering the present circumstance of affairs, and the likelihood that the enemy will soon possess themselves of this place, it is thought most convenient that the principal officers shall privately withdraw themselves, as well as for their own preservation

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as in hopes that the inhabitants, by a timely capitulation, may make terms the better with the enemy ; and that this we judge most convenient for His Majesty's service, as the present state of affairs now is." *

Had it been true that the Irish army consisted of well-trained men, amply provided with the materials of war, and had it been satisfactorily ascertained that the men of Derry either would not fight, or were not supplied with sufficiency of provisions, the wisdom of this resolution might have been unquestioned. But the very opposite was the truth, as Lundy could not but know. The folly of the council was to take all this on Lundy's word, without having ascertained the facts for themselves.† Had it not been that the infatuation of the

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* *Walker*, April 17. The following is the form of the resolution of the council of war, as given in Hamill's *Memorial*, p. 8 :—"Upon the question resolved—'That 'tis not necessary nor convenient for His Majesty's service to land the two regiments now on board, under command of Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Richards, into the city of Londonderry.' 'That forasmuch as Londonderry is not sufficiently provided with provisions, or otherwise tenable against a powerful and well-appointed army, it is therefore advisable for the principal officers to withdraw themselves, that the town and soldiers may make the better terms for themselves, by capitulation.' 'JOHN MUGRIDGE, Secretary.' "

† Lundy's influence in preventing the English regiments from landing was known and recognised in the right quarter. Thus in a letter from a Lieutenant in King James's army, dated Dublin, May 7th, 1689, it is stated in regard to Derry: "The King *had such interest within the place* as to keep out two regiments sent thither from England."—*Ireland's Lamentation*, p. 34. This shows the impression about Lundy entertained in Dublin. It is only fair to add, however, that Avaux, who should have known all about it, admits that he did not know why the regiments did not land,—"Nous n'en pouvons scavoir bien precisement la raison."—*Letter to Louis*, $\frac{\text{May 6,}}{\text{April 26,}}$ 1689.

officers was in some degree counteracted, the result of that resolution would have proved fatal. Without striking a blow, the wealth of a whole Province carried to Derry as a place of safety would have been handed over to the pillage of a hungry and unscrupulous soldiery ; thirty thousand men, women, and children, would have been left at the mercy of an army, from whom little mercy could, in the circumstances, be expected, and all Ireland would have been lost to King William. But even as it turned out, the resolution proved to be very disastrous. Every gentleman and officer of any distinction, considered himself justified by that resolution in deserting the city as soon and as quietly as he could. That night the principal gentry who had come into the city, and the English officers, went aboard the ships that lay in the river, and the ships, instead of landing the soldiers, dropped down the stream, carrying them all away, and along with them all the leading officers of the garrison.*

Meanwhile King James in person had joined the Irish army. On the 8th of April, he left Dublin for the North, travelling by Armagh, Charlemont, and Dungannon. There was some risk in making the journey at such a time. Had a well-armed troop of Enniskilleners met the royal cortege on the way, it is scarcely possible that even the king could have escaped. Avaux, who accompanied him, thus describes the soldiers of the guard :—" There was scarcely a soldier that they saw in the way who had a weapon that he could use ; in every company there were not four men who had swords ;

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* *A True Account*, p. 34 ; Mackenzie's *Nar.*, April 15 ; Walker's *True Account*, April 15 and 17 ; Evidence in *Hempton*, pp. 395-400.

the old muskets and bad guns were of no use ; and they marched without powder, match, and balls." On the 13th he had reached Omagh, which "had been abandoned," says Avaux, "only four and twenty hours before by the rebels, who had left behind neither wine, nor beer, nor forage, and had carried away the very locks of the doors, and had broken all the windows and chimneys." Here the news met him that thirteen English ships, bringing aid to Derry, had been seen near the mouth of the river, whereupon he suddenly remembered that there was need of his presence in Dublin, and actually turned back as far as Charlemont. There on the morning of the 17th a letter reached him stating that the writer did not believe that the English ships had come, and that the general-officers were all of opinion that the king had only to present himself at the gates of Derry, and the town would surrender. He instantly took horse, returned to Omagh, and went forward to the city, whither the French generals Rosen and Maumont had gone before him.*

James could not have reached Derry before the morning of the 18th, although on the preceding day Whitloe, an Episcopal minister at Raphoe, was sent in his name into the town to ascertain whether Colonel Lundy, in order to save blood, was disposed to surrender on honourable terms. He bore with him the following letter :

"James Rex,

"Whereas we have given leave to such as are assembled in our city of Derry to send such of their number as they shall think fit, not exceeding twenty, to whom we are pleased to give our royal pass and safe conduct to come to our quarters and to return again in safety, providing that they come in twelve hours from the date of these presents, in company with my Lord Abercorn, who is hereby ordered to conduct them to us with all civility and safety, and in the same manner to reconduct them in safety again. We do, therefore, expressly command all our general officers, and all others our officers and soldiers and subjects whatsoever, to take notice of this our royal pass and safe conduct, as they shall answer the contrary at their utmost peril. We will explain this our royal will and pleasure in a most extensive and honourable manner for the same persons, we being resolved on our part to observe the same most punctually. Given at our quarters at St. Johnstown, 14th* day of April 1689, at four o'clock afternoon, in the fifth year of our reign,

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* *Avaux to Louvois*, from Omagh, $\frac{25}{15}$ April, 1689.

"By His Majesty's command,

"MELFORT." †

On Wednesday, the 17th, another council of such officers as still remained in the city was called by Lundy, before which Whitloe appeared, and the message from King James was submitted. It was ominous, that throughout the deliberations of the council Whitloe was allowed to be present, and sat beside Lundy. In his presence the Governor said that the town could not hold out. Others were by no means sure that the King was in the camp, and feared that some deception was being practised upon them. Eventually it was agreed that Archdeacon Hamilton, who knew the person of James, accompanied by two other gentlemen, should go out to the camp, see the King, and ascertain the terms that he was disposed to grant. They went out; but all the terms they could get were, that if they chose to surrender the town, their horses, and their arms, they would be allowed to live in peace. When the gentlemen returned from the camp to the city, they were, to their surprise, refused admission at the gate.

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* This date is certainly a mistake. King James's army had not reached St. Johnstown so early as the 14th, and the letter was not received till the 17th.

† Ash's *Diary*, p. 13, May 27. The signature "Meitorf" in *Ash*, and copied by Simpson, *Annals*, p. 109, is evidently a mistake for "Melfort," who at the time acted as King James's principal adviser, and Secretary of War.

The proceedings of these two councils had been all this time kept a close secret from the citizens and their country brethren. When they saw their own and the English officers going down to the ships, they naturally supposed it was to bring up the regiments. They were most urgent that the English troops should land, that they and the garrison should unite, and that under the command of Colonel Cunningham an attack should be made on the Jacobites before they had time to convey their heavy guns over the Finn. Lundy for a time managed to throw dust in their eyes, as he had already done to the English officers. He told some that the council had agreed that the soldiers should disembark, and sent round the sheriffs under pretence of finding for them quarters in the city. But meantime the city was being visibly drained of all its leading men. Every boat in the harbour was engaged in carrying gentlemen down to the fleet, and it was remarked that few of them returned. At last the ships themselves dropped down the river into the Lough, without showing any signs of coming back. Even then, to quiet suspicion, Lundy hawked about a letter, said to be from Colonel Cunningham, assigning some reason for the ships going down the Lough, and promising that they would soon return.*

Light broke upon the populace at last. They found themselves sold and betrayed. The truth oozed out that the English soldiers had departed in the ships, that their own officers had deserted them, that at that moment terms were being arranged for the surrender of the city, and that they and their families were to be left to the mercy of Tyrconnel's soldiery. Their excitement, rage, and desperation at that moment, when the naked truth stood out so clearly, no language can describe. So intensely did they feel at the deception practised on them, that in their passion they shot one officer and wounded another, as they were getting into the last boat remaining in the harbour, and about to desert the city. In their fury, they shut the gates against the deputies whom the Governor had despatched to St. Johnstown, to treat of a surrender. Some in the town, suspecting Lundy, sent to ask Colonel Cunningham to accept the Governorship, but he refused, saying that it was his duty to obey Lundy as his superior officer. The ships, after lingering in the Lough to pick up such officers and gentlemen as chose to desert, fell down to Greencastle on the 18th, and on the morning of the 19th set sail for England. This service to the refugees was not entirely disinterested. When they reached Liverpool, Captain Cornwall, commander of the *Swallow*, demanded four pounds a piece from each of his passengers, and when the money in some cases was not forthcoming, he relieved them of sword, watch, and clothes, till an equivalent for the amount demanded was supposed to be obtained—conduct which the humblest officer in the service would now be ashamed to have laid to his charge, and which is the very opposite of that which we have learned to associate with the name of a British sailor.

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* Walker's Letter in *A True Account*, p. 35.

Not hearing the result of the terms of surrender which Archdeacon Hamilton had carried back on Wednesday, the Jacobite army advanced on Thursday the 18th, from St. Johnstown to the upper Strand, at the south end of the ridge on which the city is built, to ascertain what answer the garrison was about to return. Strict orders were given by Lundy, that as negociations were in progress, no shot should be fired at them from the walls. It was at this point that the truth, hitherto only suspected, had become known in the town, that the English soldiers were not to land, that their own leaders had deserted them, that the ships were gone, and that the town was betrayed. Popular indignation, roused yesterday, was now at white heat. At this inopportune moment, King James, who had just arrived from Charlemont, advanced with some of his officers from the main body, in hope that when he would show himself the city would open its gates. The men on the walls not knowing exactly how matters stood, but chafed and angry with the treatment they had received, and indignant with Lundy as with one who had betrayed them, turned their guns against the enemy, whom they saw advancing, and, so well-directed was their aim, that some of the officers at the King's side began to drop, and others turned and fled. Lundy sent Colonel Whitney to command them not to fire, but the soldiers threatened to throw him over the walls. The Governor and his officers were deeply offended by this act of insubordination; and the King, not knowing how matters stood, must have been very much astonished at hostilities breaking out, before the negociations opened with the Governor and Council had reached a conclusion.

What the populace and soldiery now needed, in order that they might act in concert, and give voice to their feelings, was a leader—a man bold enough to brave Lundy, and sufficiently influential and able to command the respect of the garrison. The leader appeared at the very moment he was required. Adam Murray was a descendant of the Murrays of Philiphaugh in Scotland. His family had for some time been settled at Ling, on the Faughan-water. When the Protestants of the North began to arm in order to protect themselves against Tyrconnel, he had raised a troop of horse. Sent to guard the passes of the Finn against the Irish army, he had been obliged to retreat for want of the ammunition which Lundy failed to supply, and for want of forage in the city, he and his horse, after the flight from Cladyford, had retired to Culmore. At the very time when King James and his men were drawn up at the Upper Strand, and all was in confusion in the city, Captain Murray advanced at the head of a party of horse to the green field below Pennyburn Mill. So soon as he and his men were seen approaching, a message was sent him from the Governor and his Council, to withdraw to the back of the hill out of sight of the city, the fact being that Lundy wished to have the treaty for surrender concluded without any interruption. Not understanding the reason of this strange command, but having received from the messenger a hint as to the position of affairs, he disregarded Lundy's orders, and pushed forward to the town. Having had a narrow escape from the dragoons of the enemy, he made his way to Ship-quay Gate, but found it closed. The Council, with Lundy at their head, sent the Rev. George Walker, afterwards one of the governors of the city, to speak with him, and, after some parley, he consented to admit Murray alone, by letting down a rope and raising him over the wall. This Murray declined; he must have admittance for his men and horses as well as for himself; in no such fashion would he be smuggled into a town that he had come to defend with his life. While they parleyed, one James Morrison, who acted as captain of the city guards, without waiting for orders, ran and opened Ship-quay Gate, and admitted Murray and his party.

This brave man did not arrive a moment too soon. At the very time he was trying to persuade Walker to admit him at Ship-quay Gate, King James, with his army, had not yet retired from the Upper Strand. Lundy and his officers, met all day in council, were at that moment drawing up a paper of surrender, and were preparing to throw open the gates to the King. His arrival dashed their scheme at the very point when it seemed ripe for execution. The soldiers and citizens hailed him as a leader, of whose honesty and capacity they were fully convinced. He lost no time in assuring the populace who gathered around him, that he would not consent to a surrender, and that he would stand by them to the last; and, in order they might know their strength, and he might see what support he was likely to have, he requested all who agreed with him in the determination to fight to the end, to put a piece of white cloth on their left arm. It was very generally done. Glad at last to have found an honest and determined man, the rabble, as they were contemptuously called by men very much inferior to them in courage if not in character, took orders from him and obeyed them with alacrity.

Lundy and his officers, hearing what was done, grew alarmed at this new symptom of disaffection and rebellion. They sent for Murray, with the design of using him to persuade the others to concur in the treaty of surrender, knowing the weight that his name would have with the citizens. Accompanied by some of his friends, he entered the Council Chamber. The Governor asked him what reason he had to suspect him. It was no time for gentle words. Murray answered bluntly, that, judging from his recent behaviour, he could not but regard him as either a fool or a knave; and went on to charge him with having failed to secure the passes of the Finn; with having refused ammunition to men who were both able and willing to fight; with having fled from the field at the head of an army of 10,000 men; and with neglecting to defend the passes on the way from Strabane. Had he known all the facts as we know them now, he might have charged him also with the base surrender of Dungannon and Sligo; with an attempt, that happily failed, to withdraw the garrisons of Enniskillen and Ballyshannon; with deceiving, by his falsehood, the English officers; and with sending away the English soldiers without permitting them to land. Of all these facts Murray could not then have been aware; but he urged him then, even at the last hour, to take the field and fight the enemy. Lundy spoke of the common danger, dwelt upon the arguments for surrender which had proved so effectual with others, and tried to persuade Murray to attach his name to the paper, which some of those present had already signed. Murray absolutely refused on any other terms than that it should be agreed upon at a general council of officers, "of which," he added, "this is not one, for he did not see the one-half of them present." He then withdrew from the chamber, and made known to those outside what Lundy was preparing to do.

The Council, however, continued still in session. They did not yet renounce the hope of perfecting the treaty of surrender, and their aim was to remove the scruples of all who yet held out. Before they broke up they sent for the Presbyterian ministers, of whom there were at least eight in the city, with the design of bringing their influence to bear on Captain Murray and on the populace generally, to induce them to consent to a surrender. Of all the ministers only one obeyed their summons, and that one refused in any way to share their responsibility. The whole project of surrender failed, and from that hour Lundy's Council met no more.

A complete revolution, meanwhile, had occurred outside. Murray, and those officers and citizens who agreed with him, took the authority into their own hands. They seized the keys, and planted on the walls guards in whom they had confidence. Their feelings towards the Governor they no longer attempted to conceal.

Lundy had done everything to ruin them in conformity to all the military forms usually observed in such cases. If he had not handed over the keys of the city to King James, he was preparing to do it in punctilious obedience to the rule in such cases made and provided, when Murray stepped into the Council Chamber, and by his abrupt speech somewhat disarranged his plans. So soon as it became known to the garrison what he and his Council were about, the authority dropped from his hands. The men on the ramparts fired at the enemy in defiance of his orders. He himself became so unpopular, that for fear of the people he dare not show his face upon the streets. He kept his house all the next day; but with the connivance of the Governors he was in the evening allowed to escape. Disguised as a private soldier, with a load of match-wood upon his back, he passed along the street, got into the boat in which Benjamin Adair had come up from Culmore for powder, and sailed down the river to Brookhall, which by that time was occupied by the Irish army. He succeeded in reaching Scotland. Some months after, towards the close of the siege, news reached the city that in consequence of charges brought against him by Governor Baker for his conduct at Derry, he was committed to the Tower of London. After the siege, he, along with his victims, the two English officers, Cunningham and Richards, were examined before a committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the transactions at Derry, and the result was that the whole three were dismissed from His Majesty's service. Though one of thirty excepted by name in the Bill of Indemnity passed by Parliament in 1690, Lundy, like most of the others, was never brought to justice, but permitted to die in obscurity. But time had in store for him a still deeper infamy. Derrymen in all generations affix to his unhonoured name the base epithet of TRAITOR.*

King James, having ascertained from the reception which he met with when he advanced towards Bishop's Gate that he had entirely mistaken the temper of the citizens, retired with his men to St. Johnstown in order to allow time for concluding the negociations; but finding by the more than usual delay that something had gone wrong, sent a trumpeter on Friday to inquire into the cause. As he soon learned, something had, indeed, gone wrong for him. A new government was that day inaugurated in the city. Murray would have been chosen Governor by the populace, but he resolutely refused to allow himself to be put in nomination. This determination showed his good sense, for he was by nature better fitted for venturous and daring deeds than for planning and administration. At a meeting of fifteen of the principal officers in the garrison, at which Murray was present, Major Baker was chosen Governor by a majority of votes; but as he complained that the military and administrative duties would be too heavy for one man, he was permitted to name an assistant. He named the Rev. George Walker as joint Governor, and to this the whole Council agreed. Baker took charge of the military arrangements; and the oversight of the provisions—a charge not much less important in a besieged city—was confided to Walker.* Nearly a thousand non-combatants, consisting of old men, women, and children, unfit to fight, left the city of their own accord, now that hostilities were about to begin. After all had retired who chose to go, it was calculated that there were still 20,000 remaining cooped up within the walls; and among these it was found that there were of men able to fight 7,020, and 341 officers. These came from all parts of the province. The citizens fit to carry arms, strictly so called, were not more than three hundred men. The garrison was divided into eight regiments, and one leading officer was appointed as colonel of each. The new appointments were as follows :—

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* *Walker*, April 17; *Mack.*, April 18; *Ash*, April 18-20; *Evidence* before House of Commons, in *Hempton*, p. 398; *Ash*, July 22; *True and Impartial Account*, p, 21; *Harris*, p. 260.

Governor Baker to be Colonel of Sir Arthur Rawdon's Dragoons (25).†

Major Walker to be Colonel to the Lord Charlemont's Regiment, the Lieutenant-Colonel being gone (15).

Major Parker to command Coleraine Regiment (13).

Major Mitchelburn to command Mr. Skeffington's Regiment (17).

Captain Hamill to be Colonel to a Regiment (14).

Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney to be Colonel to Francis Hamilton's Regiment (13).

Major Crofton to be Colonel to Colonel Canning's Regiment (12).

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* Boyse's *Vindication of Osborne*, pp. 2 and 24; Certificates in *Mackenzie's Narrative a False Libel*, pp. 5 and 6.

† *Mackenzie*, April 19. The figure at the end shows the number of companies which, according to Walker, were in each regiment. Each company had sixty men.

Captain Murray to be Colonel to the Horse (8).*

When these appointments were made, each company in a regiment whose officers had deserted it, was allowed to choose a captain under whom it was willing to serve. This was a mark of confidence that the common soldiers well deserved. Loyalty to the cause for which they fought, and dogged determination to fight to the end, were much more conspicuous among them than among their leaders, who, perhaps from their superior knowledge, were less hopeful of success. Indeed, it shows how deeply the spirit of Lundy pervaded the leading officers, that some of them, despairing of being able to defend the city, proposed even in the new Council to carry out the treaty of surrender on which Lundy had entered; but the refusal of Murray to be a party to the movement, joined to the menaces of the multitude, squashed the proposal, and a message was sent to the King that the negociations were finally broken off.

On Saturday, the 20th of April, it was known in the Irish camp that the treaty of surrender had proved a failure, and that both sides must now prepare for the worst. As a last resource, the King sent the Earl of Abercorn with new terms and proposals, and Colonel Murray, at his request, had a conference with him outside the walls. He was commissioned by the King to offer the garrison, on condition of surrender, their lives, their estates, the free exercise of their religion, and pardon for all past offences; and to Murray himself, a colonel's commission in the King's army, and £1,000 of gratuity for his services in the affair. Murray, however, proved incorruptible: his honour and principle were as conspicuous as his courage. The interview was brought to an end in consequence of the garrison observing that the enemy, as if to give effect to the negociations, were taking advantage of the suspension of arms to plant their guns in position; whereupon his lordship received notice to retire, and Murray did him the honour of seeing him to the outside of the lines.*

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* "Col. Adam Murray, General of the Field, who upon enterprises commands in chief and orders all the sallies."—*Good News from Londonderry.*

Both sides spent the remainder of Saturday in completing their preparations. Each regiment in the city was assigned its post, and each company had a bastion that it was to defend; and each man was instructed what to do in case of an attack or alarm. Two guns were erected on the Cathedral tower, which commanded all places round the town, and annoyed exceedingly the detachment of the enemy stationed at the Waterside. Sixty men were posted in the Windmill, which then stood on the site occupied now by the Casino, and they did good service as an advance guard. Blinds were erected on the walls, to cover the men who occupied the ramparts from the enemy's shot; and, lest the bombs shot by the besiegers might do harm by falling on the streets and knocking the stones about, the pavements were pulled up, and the paving-stones carried to the wall. This served two objects—the bomb when it fell upon the street found a soft bed in the clay or sand, and did little harm when it exploded; the loose stones upon the wall supplied an inexhaustible store of hand-shot, that might be useful in case of an attempt of the besiegers to scale the ramparts.* At every gate there was a gun planted, commanding the approaches to it; and at the Market-house there were four guns, one commanding each of the streets by which it was approached. On each of the bastions about the wall there were two or three guns ready at all times to be used when the occasion required.

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* *Mack.* April 19 and 20; *Walker*, April 20. *True and Impartial Account*, p. 20.

The Jacobite army on the same day was not less active. The main body occupied Carrigans and St. Johnstown, and were in charge of Sir Maurice Eustace and Brigadier Ramsay. A strong party, three thousand in number, under command of Lord Louth, took up a position on the east side of the river, immediately opposite to Ship-quay Gate. Another strong detachment occupied Pennyburn Hill and Brookhall, and cut off all communication by land or water with Culmore. A party of horse that afternoon swept down through Ennishowen, and robbed all those who had deserted the city and had not succeeded in getting aboard the ships, which the day before had carried away the two English regiments to England. Their whole strength at first was estimated at ten thousand men; but their communications with Dublin being open by way of Omagh and Dungannon, it was subsequently increased by considerable reinforcements. On that Saturday night, both sides were ready for battle.

The approaching meeting of Parliament in Dublin on the 7th of May, as well as the importance of forwarding further supplies and reinforcements without delay, made it necessary that King James should not linger at Derry.

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* *True and Impartial Account*, p. 23.

When it became quite clear that the city would not surrender, even to him, and was determined to stand a siege, he immediately left the camp. The French officers Rosen and Lery returned with him; Maumont and Pusignan remained with Hamilton. On Tuesday, the 23rd, he had reached Newry on his way to the capital, and on the 25th arrived at Dublin. Even before he had left the North, the first battle had been fought, and the first blood shed under the walls of Derry.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SIEGE.

First Sally.—*Sunday, 21st April.*

THE cannonade against the city opened at an early hour on Sunday, by the Irish planting a gun on the heights of Clooney, and, from a distance of one hundred and eighty perches, firing across the river upon the town. Little harm was done, however, except to the roofs of the houses in Pump Street, and to the Market-house, which stood in the centre of the Diamond.

The garrison were not disposed in such circumstances to remain very long quiescent. Having observed from the walls that a detachment of some two hundred men passed along the heights west of the city apparently in the direction of Culmore, it was determined to make an attempt to cut them off. Five hundred men were sent out in small bodies, with orders to line the fences between the town and Pennyburn. For want of forage, only a hundred horses could be kept in the city; so that the cavalry at command of the garrison were very insignificant in numbers. The horse, as many as could be got ready, were divided into two small parties, one of which was led by Colonel Murray, the other by

Major Nathan Bull,* and advanced along the North Strand; on the right they were covered by the river, and on the left they were supported by about five hundred foot, who were planted higher up the hill, in sight of the enemy, and kept for a reserve. The movement did not escape the attention of Maumont. He was removed some four or five miles from his main army, and had gone down to give directions about capturing Culmore. Most of his cavalry had gone to forage; but when he saw the detachment in danger, he put himself with his general officers at the head of a hundred horse, and rode forward along the strand to cover and protect the party that was advancing down the hill. Murray and his horsemen, without noticing the foot, rode straight against the covering party on the shore. The onset of the cavalry was furious. Murray charged right through the enemy, and forced his way back again to his friends, having his horse killed in the encounter, and three times he came into personal conflict with Lieutenant-General Maumont, in the last of which the French officer was slain.† Montmejan, aide-de-camp to Maumont, was dangerously wounded, and barely escaped with life.

The other division of horse, under Major Bull, was not so successful, for, affected with some sudden panic, they wheeled round and galloped in the direction of the city, pursued by about fifteen of the enemy's horse, who slashed and pistolled them till within musket-range of the walls. The foot were about to engage, when they observed that most of the horse had already fled, and fearing that their retreat might be cut off by the enemy's cavalry, the main body of which was attempting to get between them and the city, they retired under the protection of the city guns. The horse of the enemy, who had left the main body in pursuit of Bull's party, had now to return, and were attacked by the men who lined the fences, as well as by the foot who came down the hill to join them; the result of which was that only two of the pursuers escaped. When the battle was at the hottest, the party at the Waterside brought down the great gun, with which all the morning they had been firing from Clooney against the city, to a point opposite that where the fight was going on at Pennyburn; but before it was able to do very much harm, a well directed cannon-shot from the walls killed their gunner and disabled their gun.

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* "I will only say that by the prudent government of these two gentlemen, being encouraged by many in the garrison, the town has been preserved."—*True and Impartial Account*, p. 21.

† Walker has his own reasons for not mentioning that Murray slew the French General, but it is mentioned by *Mackenzie*, April 21; and in the *Londerias*, book iii. 3. Avaux says he was killed by a gunshot in the head, at the first discharge; he does not say by whom. He of course had no means of knowing.

This action at Pennyburn was in reality a repulse, which was turned into a victory by a rash pursuit on the part of the enemy. But slight as the advantage was, it was encouraging to the garrison. It was the first encounter in which the Williamites had held their own since the war broke out, and it inspired their leaders with the hope that, untrained as their men were, they would be able in a short time to keep their ground against the enemy. At the cost of nine or ten men, of which the most important were Lieutenant M'Phedris and Cornet Brown, they had taken a standard and some little spoil, and inflicted upon the enemy a loss which was estimated at two hundred, including Lieutenant-General Maumont and several officers of note.*

SURRENDER OF CULMORE.—*Tuesday, 23rd April.*

On Tuesday the 23rd, the detachment of the enemy stationed at the Waterside brought down two cannon to Strong's orchard, exactly opposite the Ship-quay Gate, and from that side of the river played so incessantly on the north side of the town, that it was neither safe to walk in the streets, nor to visit the garrets. The besieged, with a broad river in front of them, and deprived of their boats, could make no sortie in that direction; but from the ramparts they responded with their cannon, and not without effect.

That day, however, a serious disaster befell the garrison, although it was not known to them for some time after, namely, the surrender of Culmore, a small fortress situated four miles north of the city, where the river empties itself into the Lough. It was occupied by three hundred men; but it had no means of resistance adequate to meet the forces which the Jacobites could bring against it. With Derry blockaded on the one side, and no help from England, it would have been madness in the garrison to have provoked a siege; they accordingly accepted General Hamilton's proposals, and gave up possession, on condition that their lives and liberty, their property and arms, should be allowed them. The following were the terms agreed upon :—

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* *Mackenzie*, April 21; *Walker*, April 21; *Ash*, April 21; *Avaux to Louvois*, $\frac{6\text{ May}}{26\text{ April}}$, 1689. *True and Impartial Account*, p. 24. The report of this battle as it reached Dublin was grossly exaggerated. It was said that the garrison "had killed four or *five thousand* of our common soldiers, the French General Maumont, one major, five captains, and several other inferior officers, and wounded the Duke of Berwick in the thigh."—*Ireland's Lament.*, p. 34.

"Capitulation between the Hon. Richard Hamilton, Lieutenant-General of all His Majesty's force in Ulster, on one part; and William Adair, of the town of Ballymena, now Governor of the Castle of Culmore, of the other part, the 23rd day of April, 1689.

"Imprimis. That His Majesty's subjects at present at Culmore shall, by his most sacred Majesty's gracious and free pardon, enjoy their lives, religion, and estates, goods and chattels whatsoever, wherever they find them, and command all His Majesty's officers, civil, military, and otherwise, to be aiding and assisting to them for recovery of the same : and that His Majesty shall, upon application, order the said several pardon or pardons to be issued without any expense or charge.

"2ndly. That the said officers and soldiers in the said garrison, on their submission, shall depart the said garrison, with all their goods and chattels, to their several abodes or dwellings, with guards from garrison to garrison, and on demand receive passes to transport themselves beyond seas without imposition of oaths, together with the full enjoyment, as formerly, of all their estates, goods, and chattels whatsoever, with a full and general pardon of all offences whatsoever committed since their taking up of arms.

"3rdly. That the said officers and soldiers in Culmore shall be allowed to carry out their swords, and that the officers shall be allowed to have their own horses and mares, pistols, and each of them a gun, for their own pleasures, behaving themselves as becometh His Majesty's loyal subjects.

"4thly. And if the gentlemen officers and soldiers of the city of Londonderry, and other His Majesty's subjects in the Province of Ulster, or elsewhere in the Kingdom of Ireland, will accept of the like favour of his most sacred Majesty's gracious and free pardon, that they may enjoy the same, if they accept of it within three days after the date of these presents and surrender up the said garrison; and have full freedom and liberty after the said three days as they can most conveniently take away their goods and chattels, excepting their serviceable horses and arms, which are in like manner to be surrendered up for His Majesty's service.

"5thly. That the great gate of the Castle of Culmore shall immediately be surrendered up to His Grace the Duke of Berwick, to put such guard thereon as he shall think fit, all the soldiers of the said garrison having before carried their firearms into such room of the said castle as shall be most convenient, where they are to be kept under lock and key, which said key, as also the keys of all the ammunition and powder, shall be delivered up unto His Grace the Duke of Berwick at his arrival at the gate.

"WILL. ADAIR.
"RICH. JOHNSTON.
"BENJ. ADAIRE."*

The conditions were faithfully performed so far as Hamilton was concerned, but when the prisoners reached

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[*] *Ordnance Memoir of Derry*, p. 239.

Coleraine, Ballymena, and Antrim, they were deprived of their swords and hats. When complaint was made to Hamilton, he said that he would punish the soldiers if they could be identified, but that he could not restrain the rabble.*

The surrender of Culmore was among the first news which followed James to Dublin, for intelligence of it reached him there at six o'clock on the evening of Friday the 26th of April. When it became known at a later date to the defenders of Derry, it caused them much vexation, inasmuch as it made their relief by sea much more difficult than it was before, and they were disposed to impute to the occupants of the castle motives of cowardice and treachery;† but it does not appear possible in their desperate circumstances to have done otherwise. To have held out for a few hours longer at the cost of a great expenditure of life, and with the certainty that they must yield at the last, would have been a useless piece of folly.

SKIRMISH AT PENNYBURN.—*Thursday, 25th April.*

The plan adopted by the garrison in its sallies was for some officer of note to announce that he intended to head an attack against the enemy, and then every officer and soldier who volunteered to accompany him was permitted to do so. On some occasions few at first would volunteer, but when their friends and acquaintances on the walls saw them hard pressed, more would go to their assistance, until at last a considerable part of the garrison came under fire ere the fight was ended : for it must be always remembered that the defenders of the city were not professional soldiers ; they were simply brave men fighting for their lives, who had acquired very little discipline, and, therefore, did not observe strict military rule.

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* *True and Impartial Acc.*, p. 23. Leslie, p. 161, attempts to deny, but rather evades this charge.

† *Ash*, July 1.

Encouraged by the result of the first attempt, Murray determined to keep his men in exercise, and to try another chance on the following Thursday. The skirmish of that day proved to be a series of attacks and retreats. At the head of a party of horse and foot, he sallied out in the direction of Pennyburn. Those of the enemy that lined the fences were beaten out by the foot ; but on their pursuing too far, a party of the enemy's horse, coming suddenly upon them from the end of the little hill, compelled them in turn to retreat. The foot from the city then lining the trenches fired so briskly on the enemy's horse that they in their turn were compelled to flee. "Our men," says Mackenzie, "pursued them down to Pennyburn Mill, and pressed so hard upon them that their dragoons, who were beat from the *Old Mill* near an English mile up the same water that Pennyburn Mill stands on, left their horses, and came down to assist their foot and some horse who were in hazard at Pennyburn Mill." Later in the evening, a party that went out to cover the retreat of the men who were engaged at the mill, were beaten in by the enemy's horse. Major Parker was blamed by the garrison for mismanaging this affair. He was charged with being too slow in drawing off the reserve, the result of which was that they were exposed to more danger than was necessary.

To save himself from the court-martial with which he was threatened in consequence of this mistake, he that night deserted the city, and took refuge among the besiegers.* Colonel Lance was appointed over the Coleraine Regiment in Parker's place.

It could scarcely be said that this was a bloody battle. The garrison had only two men killed and eight or ten wounded. The loss of the enemy could not be exactly ascertained, but probably it was not much greater Their most serious loss was that of M. de Pusignan, who was shot through the body, and died in a few days afterwards. This was the second French officer of high rank who perished in the first week of the siege. His death was due perhaps as much to want of surgical attendance as to his hurt; but his removal was of considerable advantage to the garrison, for it again devolved the chief command on Hamilton "whose incapacity," says Avaux, "was so great that it made his fidelity suspected." The Earl of Abercorn had his horse killed, and he narrowly escaped, leaving his scarlet cloak and saddle behind, as a spoil to the garrison. For days after, citizens were seen to strut about in King James's livery—scarlet, laced with silver and gold. Few days passed after this that some officer did not sally out for the purpose of annoying the besiegers, but the advantages of these petty onsets were so slight that they do not deserve any particular notice.†

After this battle Hamilton reported to Dublin that all the troops under his command before Derry did not consist of more than six battalions, not up to their full strength of six hundred men each: that of every ten men having muskets, there was not one with a weapon fit to shoot: and that he stood in need of reinforcements both of troops and artillery, and of everything essential to a siege.*

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* Parker afterwards disgraced himself by being implicated in plots for the assassination of King William. See *Harris*, Book viii., p. 207.

† *Mack.* and *Ash*, April 25; *Walker*, April 28; *True and Impartial Account*, p. 25.

BATTLE AT THE WINDMILL HILL.—*Monday, 6th May.*

Hitherto all the skirmishes had been on the north side of the city in the direction of Pennyburn; and no bomb or cannon had reached the walls except what came from the Waterside; but the south side in its turn was now to be attacked. A windmill stood on the highest point of the ridge to the south of the city, from which circumstance it was called the Windmill Hill.

"Near Bishop's Gate the fatal windmills lie,
Where cattle feed and criminals do die." †

At an early hour on Monday morning, a party of besiegers, commanded by Brigadier-General Ramsay—a gallant English officer who held high rank in James's army—came to this hill, drove in a few outguards who were stationed there, and taking advantage of some old fences that crossed the ridge, they had by daybreak thrown up an earthen rampart, that reached from the bog over the crest of the hill down to the water's edge. Some of them even came near the ravelin and shot at the men on the ramparts. Their design was to secure a nearer position on which to erect a battery, and from which they could bring their cannon to bear with more effect upon the city walls. So soon as the daylight made it clear what their object was, it was resolved to attack them, and, if possible, to drive them out of a position so dangerous to the garrison. Baker was about making arrangements for detaching ten men out of each company to form an attacking party; but the men, impatient at the amount of time spent in making the necessary arrangements, and knowing that every moment lost would render the position of the enemy the stronger, ran out of the gate of their own accord.* Quickly as it was possible to do, they issued out of Ferry-gate at four in the morning. They attacked the soldiers engaged at the earthwork with the greatest fury, beat them out of the trench, killed a considerable number, and put the remainder to flight. The soldiers on both sides approached so closely, that in some instances they struck each other with the butt end of their muskets. The turning-point of the engagement was, that the attacking party turned the flank of the besiegers near the river, and this movement compelled them to make a rapid retreat. Brigadier Ramsay, in an attempt to rally his men and bring them up again to renew the encounter, was slain. By twelve o'clock, the whole affair was over, and victory had declared for the garrison.

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* *Avaux to Louvois*, May, $\frac{14}{4}$th.

† *Londerias*, ii. 2.

This was the most successful conflict in which the city had been yet engaged. Four or five flags were captured, and it was estimated that two hundred of the enemy were killed,† and five hundred wounded. Several officers were made prisoners, the most important of whom were Lord Netterville, Sir Gerard Aylmer, and Lieutenant-Colonel Talbot—the brother of the Lord Deputy Tyrconnel. Strangely enough the attacking party had only three killed and twenty wounded. Next day Governor Baker sent a message to the enemy, that they might come and bury their dead; and accordingly, Brigadier Ramsay was interred at the Long Tower, with all the honours due to his rank. This incident taught the garrison a lesson, and convinced them that it was necessary to occupy the Windmill Hill, the possession of which was the key of their position. Baker forthwith had an earthen rampart drawn across the summit of the ridge, secured it with redoubts, and had men stationed there to keep guard throughout the siege. The Jacobites on the other side the river often fired over at these guards, but from this cross-fire they protected themselves by redoubts.*

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* Walker says he himself headed this party. Ash does not mention this, and Mackenzie denies it.—*Invisible Champion*, p. 8. The *Londerias*, iii. 10, names eight or nine officers who distinguished themselves in this engagement, but *does not mention Walker.*

† Avaux says, of course upon information received from the camp "more than sixty or eighty."—*Avaux to Louis*, $\frac{27}{16}$ May, 1689.

MURRAY'S FATHER.

By this time it was well known in King James's camp that Murray was the leading spirit in the garrison, and that without him the city could not hold out. His father lived at the distance of a few miles in the country, and was an old man of some eighty years of age. General Hamilton sent for him, and besought him to induce his son not to stand out against the King's army in such a hopeless struggle. He accordingly had an interview with his son, but could not prevail upon him to surrender. It is even said that, like a second Regulus, the old man, regardless of his personal safety, counselled unyielding resistance. However this may be, General Hamilton sent him back to his home, and allowed him to live there without molestation the whole time of the siege. Conduct so honourable and so generous on the part of an enemy, is well worthy of being recorded.*

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* *Mack. Walker, Ash.*

From the communications forwarded to France by Avaux, we now for the first time learn, early in May, that Hamilton and some of his friends entertained no small jealousy of the French officers. It was supposed that these strangers had come to rob them of the glory of the campaign. The Ambassador naïvely remarks that he sees no appearance of Hamilton gathering much glory if he shall conduct himself as he has done hitherto, and alleges that without M. de Pusignan he could not have crossed the river at Cladyford.†

FIGHT AT CREGGAN.—*Saturday*, 18*th May*.

During the remainder of May, little of importance was done on either side; but all the while the great guns from the Waterside were playing upon the city, and the guns on the wall responding, with very little damage to the one party or to the other. But the Jacobites now approached the town more closely than they had done before. The siege was converted into a blockade. The camp at St. Johnstown was advanced to Ballougry Hill; that at Brookhall came nearer to Pennyburn; and the forces at the Waterside appear to have taken up a permanent position at Strong's orchard-ground, now included in the domain of St. Columb's—and from that safe position, without fear of annoyance except from the return fire, they cannonaded Ship-quay Gate. In order to strike terror to the city, the men of Hamilton's army were drawn out in a long line on the surrounding heights, and all in succession fired into the garrison. No less than sixteen forts were thrown up around the town, one of which was on the heathy hill above Creggan. So closely was the city invested, that the cattle and horses of the garrison, which had hitherto pastured over the bog, had now to be kept within the walls; no message could be sent from the town to friends outside; and it became dangerous to pass out of the gate to draw water from St. Columb's Well, which hitherto had helped to supply the garrison with water. Shut in by the forts and cannon of the enemy, the garrison had no intelligence from without, except the little that could be gathered by looking from the walls, or picked up from the discourse of prisoners, or from written communications found on the bodies of the slain. It was by the means last stated, that they learned in May how Culmore had surrendered; the effect of which was, that their hope of being relieved by sea was much diminished. Some time afterwards they were encouraged by hearing, in the same way, that the Jacobites had lost already 3,000 men by war and sickness, and that the men in the camp complained that they got no rest day nor night, owing to the frequent sallies of the garrison.

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* *Londerias*, iii. 6.

† *Avaux to Louvois*, May $\frac{18}{8}$th, 1689.

Another attack on the trenches at Pennyburn about the middle of May failed, happily with no loss to the garrison. But it was not so in the attack made on the forts above Creggan on Saturday, the 18th of the month.

On that day Captain John Cunningham and Captain Noble, a native of Lisnaskea and one of the best soldiers in the garrison, left the city at the head of a hundred men, and penetrated too far towards the west, in the direction of Creggan. There they attacked the fort planted on the heathy hill, and beat the foot out of it. But a party of the enemy's horse at full speed dashed between them and the city, before their friends could do anything for their relief. Captain Noble and most of the party succeeded in cutting through the enemy and in escaping with their lives, but Captain John Cunningham and fifteen or sixteen men were killed. It was reported that Cunningham had first received quarter and was afterwards barbarously murdered; but this is not stated on the evidence of any one who could personally have known the fact. Next day the corpse of this gallant officer was delivered up to the garrison, and was interred with military honours.

THE COUNCIL OF FOURTEEN.—*End of May.*

One of the difficulties of the garrison was, that they did not rely with sufficient confidence on the wisdom and loyalty of some of their leaders. The experience which they had of Lundy made them, perhaps, over-suspicious. Rumours for some time had been rife in regard to Walker; and about the end of May these rumours took such a definite shape, that a number of charges were drawn up, and over a hundred officers agreed to prosecute him on these charges. He was charged with taking measures to surrender the city, with embezzling the stores, with abusing some of the officers, and with other matters. It is possible that some of the charges were unfounded, and that others may have been exaggerated ; still, his conduct was not above suspicion, and men of such high character as Colonels Hamill, Murray, Crofton, Monro (who had now succeeded to the command of Whitney's Regiment), and Fortescue, with Captains Noble and Dunbar, would scarcely have consented to his prosecution had they believed him entirely innocent. Even Baker himself was blamed for allowing himself to be too much guided by Walker's advice. But the attempt to procure his removal from the position of trust which he filled was defeated, and confidence was again restored, by the wisdom of Governor Baker, who proposed that a Council of Fourteen should be appointed, consisting of all the colonels, and of representatives from the town and country, with whom the Governors could consult, both as to the management of the stores and the affairs of the garrison, and that nothing of importance should be done without the consent of at least seven of this Council. At some sacrifice of popularity to himself, the prudence of Baker hushed the matter up, and prevented a second revolution. Of this Council of Fourteen, Baker was, as he well deserved to be, the President ;* and each of the members was sworn that he would be "true to the garrison, and have no treaty with the enemy without the knowledge and order of that Council." This arrangement allayed discontent at the time ; but it does not appear afterwards that the interference of the Fourteen was much required.

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* Mackenzie, *Nar.*, p. 36 ; *Invisible Champ.*, p. 6 ; *Londerias*, iii. 9 and 12.

SECOND BATTLE AT THE WINDMILL HILL.—

Tuesday, 4th June.

Beyond the constant cannonade that was kept up around the walls, nothing of importance occurred up till the 4th June. On that day, about ten o'clock in the morning, the Jacobites made a fierce attack with horse and foot on the line of rampart which the garrison had drawn across the Windmill Hill—

> "From Columb's wells near to the flowing tide."

The horse was divided into three parties: the first of these was under command of Captain Butler, second son of Lord Mountgarret, and the other two were disposed in such a way as to support the first. The foot were divided into two divisions: one of which was ordered to attack the earthworks between the Windmill and the river; the other, consisting of grenadiers, to attack the lines between the Windmill and the Bog. The first party of horse, each rider carrying a bundle of faggots, with the design of filling up the trench, and encouraged by the wild yells and huzzas of their friends in the camp, came on most furiously. Instead of facing the rampart directly, they rode round that end of it which abutted on the strand, under a thick fire from the men who occupied the trench. Twenty-five of them succeeded in making their way within the lines. As the shot was found to make little impression on the cavalry, owing to the fact, afterwards ascertained, that the men in the front rank wore armour under their clothes, the word was given to aim at the horses, the result of which was that horse and rider were soon brought to the ground.

Then the men in the trench, headed by Captains James and John Gladstanes, issuing from their cover, attacked them on the strand with muskets, pikes, and scythes. Most of them were slain, some were driven into the river, and Captain Butler himself was taken prisoner. Of the whole party, only three men made their escape. The other horsemen, warned by what befell their companions, did not venture to come on. The main loss to the besieged in this encounter arose from the cannon planted on the other side of the river, which flanked the party in the trenches when they were engaged with the horse.

Meanwhile the foot, also carrying faggots to fill up the trench, attacked the line farther up from the river, and near the crest of the hill. They seem to have imagined that the defenders of the rampart, being untrained men, would fire all at the same time, and that then they would have time to dash forward and mount the rampart before it would be possible for the defenders to re-charge. But in this they were mistaken. The garrison soldiers by this time had acquired a little experience. They formed in three ranks: the first rank, after it fired, retired and made way for the second; the second, after firing, made way for the third; and so soon as the third had discharged their muskets, the first was ready to advance and to fire again. Each redoubt was provided with three or four reliefs of this kind. By this expedient a constant shower of bullets rained upon the advancing foe. Confused and weakened by this galling fire, the few who were bold enough to press forward to the fence were either felled with the heavy end of the muskets or pulled over it by the hair of their heads.

The others wheeled about, and retired slowly. As they retired, each of them took up one of his dead companions on his back, and bore him off the field—an act which proved to be as politic as it was humane, for it protected their backs from the shot of their foes.

While these engagements were progressing between the Windmill and the river, the grenadiers were attempting to storm the earthworks nearer to the Bog. Here the men in the trenches seem to have been taken off their guard, and were beaten out so completely, that, it is said, for a time none was left except a little boy who stood on the rampart, and threw stones as the besiegers advanced. But at last Colonel Monro, nephew of the Major-General Monro who commanded the Scottish forces in Carrickfergus that were sent over to put down the rebellion in 1641, assisted by Captain Michael Cunningham, at the head of a strong body from the city, dashed forward against the assailants, threw them into confusion, and pursued them over the meadows with great slaughter.

Victory in the end declared for the garrison all along the line; the men had not only stood fire firmly, but repelled a fierce assault with success. Baker on that day behaved well. From the walls of the city, like a good general, he kept his eye on every point of the field, and where he observed that the men under fire were in any danger, he was always ready with reinforcements to send to their relief. The women of Derry, in their own fashion, rendered excellent service also. When the shot of the enemy flew around like hail, they carried bread, drink, and ammunition to the men in the trenches, and at the time when the grenadiers were pressing hard upon their fathers, brothers, and husbands, near the Bogside, they kept up a constant fire of stones to annoy and to blind the assailants. It was estimated that the Jacobites in this engagement lost about four hundred men in killed and wounded;[*] and, besides, various officers were taken prisoners, and four flags captured. The loss of the garrison was surprisingly small; it amounted only to one captain and five or six men, who were killed. This can only be accounted for by the fact that they fought under cover of the rampart, and were not much exposed, except to that dreaded flank fire from the other side of the river.

This was the most important engagement that occurred during the siege, and the result was most encouraging to the garrison. The Jacobites had in force attempted to storm their earthworks outside the city gates, and had failed. There was, of course, rejoicing in town; but trembling mingled with their joy, for the besiegers, in their anger and vexation, discharged that night no less than thirty-six bombs into the city.[†]

The Bombs.

Throughout the siege nothing caused such danger and alarm to the garrison as the explosive shells which were cast into the city both by night and day. This department of siege operations had been entrusted to a French officer, Monsieur Pointis; but he was late in reaching the city;* and soon after he came he was wounded by a gunshot on the thigh. When healed of the wound, and when he came to examine the war material provided, he found that the fusees of the bombs did not fit, some being too large and others too small.†

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[*] A dragoon who came up to Dublin to be cured of his wounds, prior to the 8th of June, reported "that he left 400 lying of their wounds in the Church of Culmore; that they had lost near seven or eight thousand by the sword and sickness since they sat down before Derry."—*A True Account*, p. 11. The latter statement is certainly an exaggeration.

Mack., June 4; *Walker* and *Ash*, June 4.

It was not till this matter had been set to rights that the bombardment of the city really commenced. This was early in June. Previously a few small shells had been thrown in, but from the 2nd of June the large shells began to come, and then, when the supply of these seemed exhausted, about the first week of July, the besiegers returned to the smaller shells again. Between the 24th of April and the 22nd of July, they cast into the city 587 bombs, of which 326 were small and 261 were large. Of the larger, some weighed as much as 273 pounds, and carried within them sixteen pounds of powder. When these missiles exploded, as they usually did when they struck the earth, they carried ruin to everything that was near: they slew men, ploughed up streets, and knocked down houses. Many surprising incidents are on record as to the effects produced in the town by these terrible instruments of death. One of them fell into a room where a number of officers were at dinner. Without touching any of them, it crushed down through the floor, killed the owner of the house in the under room, and by its explosion closed up the door; but at the same time it made an opening in the side-wall, by which the officers at dinner were enabled to come out to the street. Another struck the Market-house, and, without doing any damage, exploded within two yards of a spot where forty-seven barrels of powder were stored in a dry well. Another fell on Major Campsie's house, and crushed down from the roof to the cellar, out of which a large quantity of powder had been removed only the day before; and there it knocked the heads out of two hogsheads of wine. Throughout the siege none of them struck the cathedral;* but a cannon-ball went through one of the windows, and a shell fell in the churchyard, which turned five corpses out of their grave, and threw one of them over the graveyard wall. Another was better directed for the enemy's object, for it blew up two barrels of powder, and fourteen persons were killed by the explosion. Another fell into a cellar near Butcher's Gate, and there killed seven men who were, for some purpose of their own, working at a mine unknown to the garrison. The great fear was that perhaps one of these stray shells might find its way to the powder magazine; and as deserters were occasionally passing over from the city to the camp, it was difficult to keep the place where the ammunition was deposited a secret from the enemy. To guard against this danger, the powder stored in the cathedral was taken out and concealed in two dry wells, where it was covered with hides, beams of timber, and rubbish.*

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* Avaux says be had the greatest trouble in sending him forward to Derry, for Melfort would give him neither money nor horses for the journey, nor even an order for obtaining them.—*Avaux to Seignelay*, $\frac{12}{2}$ Aug., 1689.

† *A True Account*, p. 11.

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* Ash, however, says that "two fell upon the church; one did no hurt, the other raised some sheets of lead, but did not go through." —*Diary*, June 21.

Nothing alarmed the non-combatants in the city so much as the bombs. Some of them sought shelter in those parts of the city that were best protected from the dreaded missiles; others sought the cover of the wall, and others went outside the gate, but within the lines, and spent the hot summer night in the open air. From such exposure many contracted colds and diseases, which did more to thin the numbers in the city than all the casualties of war. The average death-rate rose as the siege advanced. From the beginning of the siege as many as thirty of the soldiers died daily; and in the last month the daily mortality rose to forty. Among the old men, women, and children, the average death-rate must have been still greater.

It was very exasperating to the garrison that it was beyond their power to retaliate on the enemy as they could have wished for the damage done by the shells; they could not in return shell the camp, as they were destitute alike of bombs and mortars, and, separated from the spot from which most of the bombs came by a broad river, they had no means of responding except by cannon shot. No sortie in their power to make could reach Lord Louth and his men, who from beyond the water annoyed them with the shells. But there are no circumstances so unfavourable that from them hopeful spirits cannot extract consolation. Amid the dismay produced by the missiles, some were comforted by finding that so much wood was made available from the houses which the bombs knocked down, that throughout the whole siege their fuel was never exhausted.

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* *Mack.*, June 5; *Walker*, p. 58; *Walker's Vind.*, p. 24; *Ash*, May 27, 29, and June 27; *Londerias*, iv. 3.

THE BOOM.—*Thursday, 13th June.*

There was great delay in sending help from England for the relief of the city. The truth is, King William was a stranger; he did not know whom to trust, and in some instances he was badly served. Unfortunately for Derry, the choice at last fell on Major-General Kirke, who was sent with a fleet to the succour of the city. They set sail from Liverpool on the 17th of May; but were delayed by contrary winds. Early in June three ships came up to Culmore, evidently with the design of relieving the town, but finding the castle there in the occupation of the enemy, they did not venture to pass out of the Lough into the river. When engaged in firing at the castle, one of them ran aground, and while stranded was so much damaged by the cannon of the Jacobites, that the garrison, who looked to these ships for the long-expected relief, were often taunted by the besiegers, and told to send down carpenters to repair her. Eventually she was got off into deep water, but the fleet was so much intimidated by the mishap that it was not till weeks after, that another attempt was made to come up the river.

Again, on the 13th of June, from the tower of the cathedral a fleet of ships was seen in the Lough; and in the evening it was observed that they had come up as far as Three Trees, awakening again among the garrison a hope of relief that was destined soon to vanish away. There can be little doubt that a bold attempt then would have succeeded: the passage of the river would have been more easily accomplished than it was seven weeks afterwards, and would have saved the unfortunate city from a large amount of suffering and death. But Major-General Kirke was as cowardly as he was cruel, and would run no risk: he took no advantage of wind or tide: signals of distress were made to him from the cathedral tower, but made in vain: so far as any help to the city was concerned, he and his ships might as well have been lying at Liverpool or Bristol as in the Lough below Culmore.* Never in history was there more need of that pluck characteristic of the British sailor; but it was entirely wanting in Kirke. After lying inactive for some days in the Lough, and raising hopes in the famished city, for the purpose, it would seem, of disappointing them, the fleet was seen at last to sail away without making any attempt to force the passage. The effect of this on the spirits of the garrison may well be imagined.

The Jacobites were as much alarmed at the sight of the fleet as the city was rejoiced, and their first thought was to raise the siege and retire at once; but when they saw that it did not venture to come up the river their fears subsided, and they took steps immediately to fortify the passage so as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to approach the town. This was done by the construction of a fort on each side of the river at the place where it issues out of Ross's Bay, anciently called the Crook of Inver, and by stretching a boom across from Charlesfôrt on the western, to Grange Fort on the eastern side. The boom was made of oak beams, clamped with iron, and bound round with great cables twelve inches thick. It was finished in about a fortnight after the relief vessels first made their appearance in the Lough. This fact shows that had the ships been under the command of a bold sailor, who was hearty in the work, and had they attempted the passage as soon as they arrived, they would have found it easy to reach the city—certainly much more easy than it was a month or six weeks afterwards. But Kirke was either cold in the cause of King William, or, what is more probable, his discretion overmatched his valour. So far as he was concerned, the enemy were permitted to construct and to plant their boom without molestation.

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* From the correspondence of Avaux it is evident that it was long a puzzle to the French and Irish officers what Kirke meant by coming to the Lough, within sight of the famishing city, and for many weeks attempting nothing.

The first boom did not serve the purpose. It was made of such heavy material that it would not float, and was soon broken by the force of the current. A second Boom therefore was constructed on more scientific principles. Made of beams of fir, but chained and cabled like the other, it was light enough to float on the surface of the water. One end of it was fastened through the arch of a bridge, the other end by a piece of timber driven into the ground, and secured by stone work. The design was to bar the passage, and shut out from the doomed city every hope of relief by sea.*

THE BOAT-FIGHT.—*Tuesday,* 18*th June.*

When the officers and gentlemen deserted Derry at the commencement of the siege, they took with them all the boats in the harbour to convey them to the ships lying down the river, so that the city was deprived of every boat except one, which was subsequently seized and treacherously detained by the enemy. There was no means therefore left of sending any communication by water to Kirke, and to his ships, even had the passage of the river been free. This seems to have suggested to the citizens the construction of a boat, by whose means a venture might be made to inform their friends outside of their extreme distress. When the vessel was finished, some attempted therewith to pass down the stream at night, but they were beaten back by the shot of the enemy, who lined both banks.

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* *Walker*, June 15; *Mackenzie*, June 13; *Londerias*, iv. 8, and ii. 13; *Good News from Londonderry*.

It was then suggested that perhaps a message might be sent to their friends at Enniskillen. A little boy undertook to carry it, provided he could get safely out of town, and it was thought that by means of the boat he might be conveyed four miles up the river, and landed at Dunnalong wood, outside the enemy's lines. The design was kept a strict secret, so much so, that it was currently believed the object of the manœuvre was merely to rob a fish-house at some distance above the town. Colonel Murray, Captain Noble, and above twenty others, started on this expedition, the hazard of which consisted in the fact that both shores of the river were lined by the Jacobites, and they could not hope to go and return without being discovered. When it grew dark, the boat left the city, but did not go far till it was seen, and a cannon shot from Evan's wood nearly sank it. The party aboard were fired at from both shores, yet they ran the gauntlet, and arrived at Dunnalong in safety.

By the time, however, that they reached their destination, the little boy, who was to carry the message to Enniskillen, was so frightened by the cannonade, that he would not venture so much as to set his foot on shore. Their labour was therefore lost; the danger was incurred for no end; when success crowned their effort, something that nobody foresaw made the adventure fruitless. The return journey was now the difficulty, and the more so that the enemy had sent off two large boats laden with dragoons, which came up between them and the city, with the view of cutting off their retreat. The engagement that ensued was sharp, and lasted till the ammunition on both sides was exhausted. One of the boats then drew near as if to board the city boat, but some of the assailants were killed, others thrown into the water, and others called for quarter. Thirteen of them were made prisoners. The crew of the other boat, seeing how hotly their friends had been received, shirked off and escaped. Day was breaking when the city boat with its prize reached the quay. The strange thing in this bootless and foolhardy adventure was, that, notwithstanding that an incessant fire from both shores was directed against them both in going and returning, there was not a man aboard wounded, or even hurt, except Colonel Murray, whose helmet was so battered with bullets that for some days after he was unfit for service.

Encouraged by their escape, and having now two boats at their command, so soon as they had landed their prisoners, they took some fresh men aboard, sailed across the river to Strong's Orchard, and made an attack upon the enemy, who were at the time engaged in drawing off one of their guns. The men about the gun left it and fled, and were to some distance pursued by their assailants; but when the latter saw that a strong party of the enemy was marching so as to get between them and their boats, they were obliged to return in haste, and to leave the gun unspiked behind them. Farther than by firing cannon shot across the river, this was the only assault that the garrison was able to make on the detachment stationed at the Waterside throughout the siege.

The adventure of this day was one that none but brave men would undertake; but after all, it was so full of hazard and so scant of hope, that it was a despair little short of madness which risked in it two lives so precious to the city as those of Murray and Noble.*

General Rosen.—*Thursday, 20th June.*

On the 20th of June, General Rosen, an officer of high rank in King James's army, and who subsequently rose to be a Marshal of France, arrived from Dublin. He brought with him a strong reinforcement of ill-armed troops,† and had hurried on to reach the camp, in consequence of the news coming to Dublin that the besiegers had been worsted at the Windmill, and that Kirke with his fleet had been seen in the Lough. The receipt of this news induced him to pass by Enniskillen, which it had been his original design to attack.

Rosen was by birth a Livonian, who had become a soldier of fortune, and who through his whole career never entirely lost those coarse and savage manners then so characteristic of his native country. He was a man of fierce and violent temper as well as of barbarous speech. He swore a great oath that he would demolish the town, and bury its defenders in the ashes; and it is certain that after his arrival the siege was carried on with greater activity than before. Before he arrived, Hamilton, intimidated by the presence of the fleet in the Lough, had already begun to despair and was on the point of disbanding his army; but the presence of Rosen revived their hopes and incited them to new efforts. In consequence of this, the lines of the enemy came nearer to the walls and the city was more closely invested. The three mortars which up to this time bombarded the city from the Waterside, as well as two culverins throwing balls of twenty pound weight, were removed to the other side of the water, and placed on the hill above the Bog, opposite to Butcher's Gate. By his orders, also, a trench was run up within ten perches of the half-bastion near Butcher's Gate, in order to prepare matters for laying and springing a mine. By sinking a trench above the meadows, opposite to the Windmill Hill, he made it dangerous for the garrison either to relieve their outguards or to draw water from St. Columb's Well. Notwithstanding this show of vigour, the difficulties under which the Jacobite army laboured were very great indeed. They may be best understood from what Avaux writes to Louis under date the 1st of July:—"The besiegers are in want of everything; they have at present but thirty picks for working at the trenches, no cannon, the few which they have being employed to guard the river; most of their soldiers have deserted for want of money, and many of them possess neither swords nor swordbelts ; meanwhile Kirke is within reach of the cannon of Culmore without having attempted to afford succour to the city, though he has had wind and tide in his favour.*

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* *Mack.*, June 18; *Walker*, June 18; *Londerias*, iv. 4.

† *Avaux to Louis*, from Dublin, June $\frac{26}{16}$.

The renewed vigour of the besiegers stimulated the town to devise new expedients. They sank a trench at Butcher's Gate in order to countermine the enemy, and when their ammunition grew scarce, they husbanded their resources by making cannon balls of brick, encased in a surrounding of lead. From this time the blockade was so close, that none could pass with safety outside the walls.

GOVERNOR MITCHELBURN.—*Friday, 21st June.*

Governor Baker had been ill from the beginning of June. His disease proved to be a fever, and from the middle of the month it became certain that he would not recover. On the 21st a council of war was called, in order to choose a successor. Two officers were sent to the house where he lay ill, to ask his opinion. The dying Governor, without hesitation, named Colonel Mitchelburn as the most suitable man. Mitchelburn was grandson of Sir Richard Mitchelburn, of Brodhurst Stanmer, in Sussex, and before coming to Derry had taken part in the ineffectual attempt to capture Carrickfergus and afterwards to prevent the Jacobite army from crossing the Bann. At an early part of the siege, in consequence of some suspicion attaching to him, we know not on what grounds, his arrest had been ordered by Baker. Stung with the insult, he drew on the

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* *Avaux*, p. 255.

Governor, and in the conflict Mitchelburn was wounded From that time he had been confined to his room by order of the Governor. He was now sent for to his prison, in order that he might be promoted to succeed the man who had ordered him into confinement. It shows that Baker was a true and a noble man, when he thus could bring himself to bestow the highest mark of honour upon an officer whom he once had injured by an unjust suspicion. It was alike a manly confession of his own error, and an honourable testimony to Mitchelburn's merit. He died about a week after, on the 30th of June, and Mitchelburn then took his place as military governor without farther appointment. Walker, who was originally appointed assistant-governor, had not his position at the stores altered by this new appointment, but continued to act as before. The death of Baker was a loss to the garrison : all the records speak to his praise as a man of prudence and moderation ; "sound in counsel and expert in war ;" a man of ability, courage, and honour.

ATTEMPT AT COMMUNICATION.—*Wednesday, 26th June.*

The increasing scarcity of provisions in the city now made it more necessary than ever to communicate with the ships, which, from the summit of the cathedral, might still be seen lying in the Lough without making the smallest effort to fulfil the mission on which they had been sent. Signals of distress were constantly made, but made apparently in vain. At last, on the 25th of June, Captain Roche arrived in the city, bringing tidings from the fleet. He had, at great hazard to himself, made his way through the enemy's lines, and in company with Cromie, a companion, reached a point of the river from which he expected to be able to swim to the city. Here he left Cromie, who could not swim, in concealment, and, stripping off his clothes, reached the city, after a swim, as he affirmed, of three miles. He came to inquire into the circumstances of the garrison, and to report that the ships had brought with them arms and provision for their relief.

So far well; but all was of no use except the fleet could be informed of the extreme distress in the city, and encouraged to make an immediate attempt for its relief. Roche, after one day's stay in the garrison, attempted to return. With a letter from the Governor to Kirke, enclosed in a bladder, and tied to his hair, he swam to the spot where the night before he had left Cromie and his clothes. His companion had been captured by the enemy, and his clothes were gone. For three miles he passed naked through the wood, but was discovered and pursued by the enemy. Torn by the briars and thorns, he made his way back to the Waterside, but before he could get into the water, he was met by a party of dragoons, one of whom broke his jaw with a halbert. He jumped into the stream, and, although fired on by the soldiers and wounded in the arm, breast, and shoulder, succeeded in making his way back to the city again.*

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* *Harris*, App. xxix; Graham's *Ireland Preserved*, p. 378. This is Roche's *own account* of the adventure. It must be taken with a little allowance. Men seeking reward from Government sometimes yield to the temptation of exaggerating their perils and their services. Captain Ash gives a much less romantic account of the affair.—*Diary*, June 25.

Another man, named MacGimpsy, determined to run the same desperate venture, and to swim to the fleet. A letter, signed by Murray, Cairns, and Gladstanes, was inserted, along with two bullets, in a small bladder, and tied around his neck, with the design that, if captured, he could snap the ligament and allow the bladder, with its contents, to sink to the bottom. What became of this man was never known to the garrison: some said that he was taken with cramps and drowned; others, that he was captured by the enemy.* But, a day or two after, a human body was seen suspended on a gallows at the Waterside, and the enemy called across the river to the citizens that this was their messenger.

The heart sickens at the recital of the misery which prevailed in the city—misery which Kirke might have ended then by one vigorous attempt to force the passage, but which he did not make. For more than a month longer, brave men were compelled to starve and to see all they loved on earth famish and die around them, in very sight of a fleet which had been sent to help, and which had the power to deliver them, but which seemed rather to mock their misery by doing nothing. The Irish were perplexed to understand, as well they might be, what the man meant by coming with his fleet, and moving to and fro in the Lough, without attempting to strike a blow.

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* Avaux supplies the true account: "They have found in a vessel, which was hung about the neck of a man, *who was drowned in attempting to reach the fleet*, three letters from the officers of Derry, informing Kirke that they had provisions for four days only."—*Avaux to Louis*, July $\frac{15}{5}$, 1689.

Lord Clancarty.—*Friday, 28th June.*

Throughout the whole month of June, the bombardment was very hot, for Monsieur Pointis had now got his fusees in good order; but, except the boat-fight, there had been no close hand-to-hand conflict since the great battle at the Windmill Hill on the 4th. The monotony of the cannonade was, however, a little disturbed on the 28th, when Lord Clancarty—the young nobleman whose marriage with Lady Elizabeth Spencer, and whose romantic adventure arising from that marriage, form the subject of one of Lord Macaulay's most interesting episodes *—arrived with his regiment, to reinforce the Jacobites.† There was a prophecy current among the Irish peasantry, that *a Clancarty should one day knock at the gates of Derry,* and this son of the old Kings of Munster determined that no time should be lost before he would attempt to fulfil the prediction. At ten o'clock on the night of his arrival, the young boy, warmed it was said with liquor as well as valour, crossed the Bog at the head of his men, and attacked the outworks at Butcher's Gate. Very few men were in the trenches at the time, and these few were soon beaten out and compelled to take refuge within the gate. So near did the party approach, that some of them stood close to the archway to avoid the shot from the wall, and one of them on horseback called out to bring fire in order to burn the gate. At this moment, some fifty or sixty of the garrison, headed by Captain

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* *History*, ch. xxvi.

† Avaux describes him as the nephew of Macarthy (Lord Mountcashel), " a young madcap and a little dissolute."—*To Louis*, Oct. $\frac{21}{11}$, 1689.

Noble, issued from Butcher's Gate and Bishop's Gate, and attacked the assailants with vigour; while at the same time, shot of every description rained upon them from the wall. The result was, that Donough Macarthy fared no better than his predecessors; he and his men had soon to abandon the works and to retreat to their own lines. He had this merit at least, that none of the enemy ever came so near the walls throughout the whole siege. Indeed it may be allowed that he fulfilled the prediction to the very letter; Clancarty knocked at the gate, but *he did not get in.*

In this conflict three of the assailants were taken prisoners, thirty were killed, and the number wounded must have been in proportion. Captain Ash records that he never remembers to have heard so many shots fired in so short a time. The remarkable thing is, that during the whole fight the garrison had but one man killed and one wounded. One would infer that the skill of these Munstermen in the use of their weapons was not in proportion to their courage and daring. For ten days after, as if in rage and vexation, the enemy kept up a severe cannonade against Butcher's Gate. One of the balls, fourteen pounds in weight, passed quite through the gate, and killed a man on the street. To prevent the damage caused in this way, large pieces of timber and sods were thrown up into a rampart outside, to deaden the force of the shot and to afford protection to the gate.*

ROSEN'S STRATAGEM.—*Tuesday, 2nd July.*

On the 26th of June, Colonel O'Neill, at his own request, had a conference with Colonel Lance and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell on the part of the garrison. They met on the upper strand. O'Neill, by order of King James, offered that if the city would surrender, all those who chose to go to their respective dwellings should have liberty to do so, and have their losses made up; that those who would take the oath of allegiance and enter his army should be received without distinction of religion; and that those who wished to go to England or Scotland should have free permission. One night was given the garrison to deliberate. Next morning the answer was returned by Colonels Lance and Campbell, that the conditions would not be accepted.

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* *Mack.*, June 28; *Ash*, June 28, July 8 and 9.

It would appear that the notion was prevalent in the camp of the besiegers, that the populace of Derry were inclined to surrender, but were prevented by the officers from making any move in that direction. The very reverse was the case. Any talk of surrender was among the officers, who knew the weakness of the position, and the imperfect means of defence; among the populace, who knew little about the comparative strength of the position and of the forces, it was at the hazard of a man's life if he spoke of surrender. To encourage the people to express the wishes which they were supposed to conceal, General Hamilton, towards the end of the month of June, enclosed a paper of proposals in a dead bomb, and this bomb he ordered to be thrown into the city with the view of making known to the people that he was willing, in case of surrender, to grant them honourable terms—a fact which, as he supposed, was kept from them by their officers.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HAMILTON'S PROPOSALS.

"1. That Colonel O'Neill has a power to discourse with the Governor of Derry from General Hamilton, as appears by his sending this.

"2. That the General has full power does appear by his commission.

"3. That General Rosen has no power from the King to intermeddle with what Lieutenant-General Hamilton does as to the siege, being only sent to oppose the English succours, and that all conditions and parleys are left to the said Lieutenant-General Hamilton, that as to what articles shall be agreed on, they may see by the King's warrant he has full power to confirm them. Notwithstanding, if they do not think this sufficient, he will give what other reasonable security they can demand. As to the English landing, such as had commissions from the Prince of Orange need not be apprehensive, since it will be the King's interest to take as much care of his Protestant subjects as of any other, he making no distinction of religion.

"4. As to what concerns the Enniskillen people, they shall have the same terms as those of Derry on their submission—the King being willing to show mercy to all his subjects, and quiet his kingdom.

"5. That the Lieutenant-General desires no better than having it communicated to all the garrison—he being willing to employ such as will freely swear to serve His Majesty faithfully; and all such as have a desire to live in town shall have protection, and free liberty of goods and religion.

"As to the last point, such as have a mind to return to their homes, shall have a necessary guard with them to their respective habitations, and victuals to supply them, where they shall be restored to all they possessed formerly, not only by the sheriffs and justices of the peace, but also by governors and officers of the army, who from time to time will do them right, and give them reprisals of cattle from such as have taken them to the mountains.

"RICHARD HAMILTON.

"At the Camp at Derry,
June 27, 1689."

While these proposals were under consideration, General Rosen saw that something effective must be done without delay. Precious time was passing. His army was melting away. Kirke was in the river. Should the English land, even those to whom protections were granted would rise against him, and he would be attacked on all sides. Taking all these things into account he sent a letter to the garrison, intimating that in case they would not surrender immediately he should collect all the non-combatant Protestant population for miles around Derry, and drive them in before his soldiery, that they might starve around the walls.

"Conrad de Rosen, Marshal General of all His Majesty's forces,*

"Declares by these presents, to the Commanders,

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* This title was bestowed by James upon Rosen on his leaving Dublin for Londonderry.—*Avaux*, $\frac{12}{2}$ May.

Officers, Soldiers, and Inhabitants of the City of Londonderry, that in case they do not betwixt this and Monday next, at six of the clock in the afternoon, being the first day of July, in the year of our Lord 1689, agree to surrender the said place of Londonderry unto the King, upon such conditions as may be granted them, according to the instructions and power Lieutenant-General Hamilton formerly received from His Majesty, that he will forthwith issue out his orders from the Barony of Innishowen, and the seacoast round about as far as Charlemont, for the gathering together of those of their faction, whether protected or not, and cause them immediately to be brought to the walls of Londonderry, where it shall be lawful for those in the same (in case they have any pity on them) to open the gates and receive them into the city, otherwise they will be forced to see their friends and nearest relations all starved for want of food, he having resolved not to leave any of them at home, nor anything to maintain them. He further declares, that in case they refuse to submit, he will forthwith cause all the said country to be immediately destroyed, that if any succour should be hereafter sent them from England, they may perish with them for want of sustenance; besides which, he hath a very considerable army, as well for the opposing of them in all places that shall be judged necessary, as for the protection of all the rest of His Majesty's dutiful subjects, whose goods and chattels he promises to secure, destroying all the rest that cannot conveniently be brought into such places as he shall judge fit to be preserved, and burning the houses and mills, not only of those that are in actual rebellion, but also of their friends and adherents, that no hopes of escaping may be left for any man—beginning this very day to send his necessary orders to all Governors, and other commanders of His Majesty's forces at Coleraine, Antrim, Carrickfergus, Belfast, Dungannon, Charlemont, Belturbet, Sligo, and to Colonel Sarsfield, commanding a flying army beyond Ballyshannon; Colonel Sutherland, commanding another towards Enniskillen; and the Duke of Berwick another on the Finn-water, to cause all the men, women, and children, who are anywise related to those in Londonderry, or anywhere else in open rebellion, to be forthwith brought to this place, without hopes of withdrawing further into the kingdom. Moreover he declares, that in case before the said Monday, the first day of July, in the year of our Lord 1689, be expired, they do not send us hostages, and other deputies with a full and sufficient power to treat with us for the surrender of the said city of Londonderry, on reasonable conditions, they shall not, after that time, be admitted into any treaty whatsoever; and the army which shall continue the siege, and will, with the assistance of God, soon reduce it, shall have order to give no quarter, or spare either age or sex, in case it is taken by force. But if they return to the obedience due to their natural Prince, he promises them that the conditions granted to them in His Majesty's name shall be inviolably observed by all His Majesty's subjects, and that he himself will have a care to protect them on all occasions, even to take their part if any injury contrary to agreement should be done them, making himself responsible for the performance of the conditions on which they shall agree to surrender the said place of Londonderry to the King. Given under my hand, this 30th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1689. "LE MARSHAL DE ROSEN.

"Per Monseigneur Fetart."

At the time this terrible threat was received, the daily allowance from the provision stores to each man in the garrison was a pound of meal, a pound of tallow, and half-a-pound of beef; salted hides were in request, and living dogs, cats, and rats were in imminent danger. Yet, in face of hunger within and Rosen without, no man spoke of surrender. The answer of the city to the proposals was, in effect, that they could place no confidence in General Hamilton:—

"That we much wondered he should expect we could place any confidence in him, that had so unworthily broke faith with our King; that he was once generously trusted, though an enemy, yet betrayed his trust, and we could not believe that he had learned more sincerity in an Irish camp."

The garrison scarcely expected that Rosen would carry out his cruel and unmanly threat; they supposed that he merely meant to intimidate them into an acceptance of Hamilton's proposals. But they soon found that he meant what he said, and that his threat was to be carried out to the letter. All the Protestant non-combatants who could be found within ten miles of the city, decrepid old men, pregnant women, and infant children, were gathered and driven before the muskets of the soldiery under the walls. Two hundred of them arrived on Monday evening, and the next morning ten hundred more. The garrison, seeing the advancing multitude coming down the hill opposite to Butcher's

Gate, did not recognise them at first, and fired upon them, supposing them to be some new legion of enemies, but it was afterwards discovered that none of them were hurt; the shot killed some of the soldiers only, who were driving them forward at the point of the sword. When they came somewhat nearer, the garrison found to their dismay that the crowd consisted of their own parents, and sisters, and children, and friends. It would have drawn tears to the eyes of the most savage barbarian to hear the cries of these helpless and unoffending people, as they found themselves forced between the fires of the two contending hosts. What was the garrison to do? To admit them would be to consume all the provisions yet remaining in a single week, and to compel a surrender out of sheer hunger; to refuse them admittance would be to see them starve and die under the walls before their eyes. In this dilemma, the poor people themselves came to their relief, for with a devotedness which cannot be too much admired, they implored the garrison not to surrender out of pity to them, adding that if the city had once surrendered, they knew well that they all would be put to death together. They were accordingly put outside the lines at the Windmill Hill, where they passed the night. The citizens turned this in some respects to their advantage, for they took into the city some of the strongest and most useful of the men, and sent out into the crowd some of the weakest and most useless of the garrison. Some of these, however, the enemy detected by their ragged dress and emaciated faces, and ordered them back into the town.

The Governor and officers of the garrison seeing that matters had now come to extremities, ordered immediately a gallows to be erected on the Double Bastion, situated at the south-west corner of the walls, in sight of the enemy's camp, and commanded all the prisoners in their hands to prepare for instant death. Hitherto these prisoners had been treated as kindly as their circumstances permitted; those of them that were common soldiers were employed in burying the dead, and the officers were allowed to receive provisions, medicine, and medical advice, sent them from the camp. But now they were assured that every man of them would be put to death without mercy, if these poor wretches lying outside the lines were not allowed to return to their homes. The prisoners, in these circumstances, asked and obtained leave to inform General Hamilton of their danger, and to bring back his reply. They wrote to him in the following terms:—

"MY LORD,—Upon the hard dealing the protected (as well as other Protestants) have met withal in being sent under the walls, you have so incensed the Governor and others of this garrison, that we are all condemned by a court-martial to die to-morrow, unless those poor people be withdrawn. We have made application to Marshal General de Rosen; but having received no answer, we make it our request to you (as knowing you are a person that does not delight in shedding innocent blood) that you will represent our condition to the Marshal General. The lives of 20 prisoners lie at stake, and therefore require your diligence and care. We are all willing to die (with our swords in our hands) for His Majesty; but to suffer like malefactors is hard, nor can we lay our blood to the charge of the garrison, the Governor and the rest having used and treated us with all civility imaginable.—We remain,

"Your most dutiful and dying friends,

"NETERVILL, { Writ by another hand, he himself has lost the fingers of his right hand.
E. BUTLER, G. AYLMOR, —— MAC DONNEL,
——D'ARCY, etc., in the name of all the rest.*
"To L. G. Hamilton."

Along with this letter a verbal message was sent for a priest to come and shrive the prisoners, but, says Walker, with a little affected simplicity, "none came." In due time, however, the messenger returned, bringing with him General Hamilton's answer:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"In answer to yours; what those poor people are like to suffer, they may thank themselves for, being their own fault, which they may prevent by accepting the conditions which have been offered them; and if you suffer in this it cannot be helped, but shall be revenged on many thousands of those people (as well innocent as others) within or without that city.

"Yours,
"R. HAMILTON."

The besiegers, notwithstanding the tone of this letter, did relent. The harsh treatment of the unoffending people was certain to bring death on the prisoners; it stirred up dissensions among the Protestants and Roman Catholics in the Jacobite camp; and, let it be hoped, excited pity among the very men who had employed it as a stratagem of war. From whatever motives, they allowed the poor people on Wednesday to return to their homes, and, as if to compensate them in some degree for their sufferings, they gave them both provisions and money before sending them away. Seeing that the men, women, and children were thus permitted to return, it is almost needless to add that the garrison did not carry out their threat; the gallows on the bastion was taken down, and the prisoners remanded to their quarters. The besiegers did not derive any advantage from this stratagem of war. Some of the people who had been treated so harshly, had previously received protections from King James's army, and yet, in defiance of this promise, were driven in, like so many sheep, to perish under the walls. From this the garrison drew the inference that were they to surrender, any promises given them would be no better observed. This made them all the more resolute to defend the city to the last.*

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* *Walker*, July 2nd. Mackenzie denies that D'Arcy's name was to this letter, inasmuch as he left the city in May.—*Invisible Champion*, p. 9.

Even King James was not gratified by this piece of service on the part of Rosen. It was done without consulting him; it set at nought his declaration and the protections granted to the Protestants; and Rosen he thought took too much upon him in making himself surety for the conditions offered to the city. When told about it by the Earl of Granard, he said he was grieved for it; that he had sent orders to countermand it; and that "none but a barbarous Muscovite could have thought of so cruel a contrivance."[*]

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* *Walker*, June 30, and July 2; *Mack.*, June 30; *Londerias*, iv. 9. *Ash*, June 26, July 3 and 4; *Leslie*, p. 138.

THE JACOBITE CAMP.—*Friday, 5th July.*

The three original records of the siege, being written by men who lived within the city, make us well acquainted with what transpired within the walls during that memorable time; but they tell us very little of what occurred within the camp, seeing that their means of knowing it was so slight and untrustworthy. But the correspondence of the French ambassador lets us know that the besiegers were badly armed, badly trained, and poorly fed. He states that one of the cavalry regiments which Rosen brought down in June consisted of five companies badly mounted, the men without pistols or muskets or boots, and most of the horses without saddles or bridles. The others were little better.[†] The condition of the infantry and artillery was, if anything, worse. The following letter, written by General Rosen himself two days after the poor people departed, is also exceedingly valuable for supplying us with much of what is lacking in the three city historians. It shows the interpretation which the enemy put upon the conduct of Kirke; it lets us see why the Jacobites were in the beginning of July more desirous than ever that the city should be in their possession, and also why it was that they were not able to take it. After reading this important communication, we are no longer at a loss to see how it was that in almost every encounter three at least of the assailants were killed for every one of the garrison.

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[*] *Leslie*, p. 100; *Avaux*, p. 257 and 309.

[†] *Avaux to Louis*, $\frac{28}{18}$ June.

"GENERAL ROSEN TO KING JAMES.

"CAMP BEFORE LONDONDERRY,
"5TH JULY, 1689.

"SIRE,

"I am grieved to see so little attention given to the execution of your Majesty's orders, at a time when matters are become troublesome and embarrassed. Kirke is always at his post, waiting the arrival of three regiments of cavalry and two of infantry, which are to join him, under the command of Charles Count Schomberg. There is no doubt but this expectation has kept him from making any attempt to throw provisions into Derry, as he might easily have done, by hazarding some vessels for that end; yet your troops which have been lately sent have arrived almost in the same condition with the former, having been obliged to take such arms with them as were given them, the greater part of which are damaged and broken, and accordingly useless, as you have not in all your army a single gunsmith to mend them.*

"The troops which are here with Hamilton are in a still worse condition, and the regiments entirely lost and ruined; the strongest battalions having but two hundred men, and more than two-thirds of them without swords, belts, or bandeliers. The cavalry and dragoons are not the better that they are more numerous, as the strongest company has not more than twelve or fourteen troopers able to serve. The river which divides your army, and prevents a communication, diminishes its strength considerably. The detachment, under the Duke of Berwick's command, being more than thirty miles from this place, weakens it entirely, as he cannot leave the post which he has been obliged to take, without allowing the Enniskilleners to possess it, and shut us up behind. All this, Sire, together with the embarrassment of the artillery, and the carriages which are here, with very little means of conveying them in a country where one is necessarily obliged to go by the one road, which is very bad, should now induce your Majesty to adopt a measure which is of the utmost consequence to the good of your service. It is only for this reason I humbly beseech you to consider this maturely, and to send me instantly your orders about what we should do, as I had already the honour to ask by my two last letters, to which I have yet received no answer.

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* This account is confirmed by Avaux. "I have seen," says he, "a letter of the colonel of one of the regiments sent to Derry, who writes that in all his regiment they have but seven musquets; the rest have sticks of three feet long, which they carry on the shoulders, and some have pikes that are not shod with iron."—*Avaux to Louvois*, from Dublin, May $\frac{12}{2}$, 1689.

"I cannot comprehend how the regiment of Walter Butler could be sent away from Dublin without swords and without powder and ball. I am still more surprised that Bagnal's regiment has been employed to escort the treasure, without giving them a single shot, although, as the officers told me, they frequently asked, without being able to obtain any; yet, Sire, they both of them marched two days quite close to the garrison of Enniskillen, in danger of falling a prey to them. The garrison of Belturbet is in the same situation, having had, as

Sutherland told me, but little powder, and not a single ball. My heart bleeds, Sire, when I reflect on the continuance of this negligence, since it appears to me that no one is in pain about the ruin of your affairs. I hope that the return of this express will bring me your Majesty's ultimate orders, and I wish they may arrive in time enough for me to put them properly in execution, having no other object but to show you my zeal and attachment for your service; because I am, with a very profound respect, submission, and loyalty, your Majesty's, etc., etc.,

"CONRAD DE ROSEN."*

There can be no doubt that, during the siege, the besiegers suffered much from sickness, produced by exposure, fatigue, and unhealthy food,† while this letter shows that they were more at the mercy of the garrison than is generally supposed, for lack of the material of war.‡

HARDSHIPS OF THE GARRISON.

Badly off as King James's troops were for ammunition and equipments, the difficulties under which the garrison laboured at the same time were very much greater. Famine and disease were not the only, though perhaps the greatest hardships, which they had to suffer. They had to grind their own corn, as well as to make their own balls; suspicions of treachery were entertained about some of the officers; insubordination broke out occasionally among the men; and desertions from the city were not unfrequent. The treachery of Lundy seems to have produced a bad impression, and distrust was felt in succession with regard to Mitchelburn, Walker, and others. Insubordination manifested itself in a variety of ways; soldiers, tempted by the enemy, would sometimes rush out of the gates to fight, without waiting for the command of their officers; others, without authority, would go and hold parley with the enemy; when Walker proposed to accept £500 for the release of Colonel Talbot,* some threatened to shoot the Governor or send him to jail; and some unruly spirits were detected in plotting a scheme for giving up the city to the enemy.† To such a height did this spirit of anarchy rise, that in the last week of the siege a court-martial sat daily, in order to punish misdemeanours and regulate the internal affairs of the garrison. Besides, the numerous deserters from the city to the camp kept the besiegers constantly informed of the state of matters within the walls. Thus we read that on the 7th of May two captains deserted; on the 10th of May, one Brisbane, a curate; on the 23rd of

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* Graham's *Siege of Derry*, p. 116.

† "The bloody flux, small-pox, fevers, and agues being among them, they die extremely fast in the Irish camp; the generality of their sustenance being nothing else but oatmeal and water, with some raw, lean beef."—*A True Account*, p. 12.

‡ Some of their bombs had to be buried at Strabane simply for lack of draught-horses to convey them to the camp.—*Avaux to Louvois*, $\frac{19}{9}$ Aug., 1689.

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* *Londerias*, iii. 15.

† "The rabble of our garrison took a vagary and put Lord Netterville, Garret Aylmore, Mr. Buchanan, Brian M'Laughlin, etc., all, except Lieut. Talbot, who were prisoners, into Newgate; afterwards went and took meal and whatever they could get, without respect of persons or property. In the evening they released Sir Garret and Mr. Newcomen, and the others the next day."—Ash's *Diary*, June 17.

June, Captain Stringer; early in July, Captain Beatty; and Captain Charleton on the morning of the day in which the city was relieved. One of these deserters, Andrew Robinson,* fared worse than some of the others. Some imprudent expression of his in the camp gave offence to his new friends, whereupon they stripped him of his clothes and sent him back to the city; which must have been, to a man of any spirit, a punishment worse than death.

But hunger, and the diseases produced by hunger and privation, were the most formidable enemies of the garrison. Famine slew more than the cannon of the enemy; even the bombs discharged from the camp killed but few, compared with the multitudes that perished from sickness. On the 8th of July, the garrison from these causes was reduced to 5,520 men, and on that day there was distributed to each man from the provision stores, a pound of meal, a pound of tallow, and two pounds of aniseeds. The meal was mixed with the tallow, and to the mixture was added ginger, pepper, or aniseeds; and the whole was made into pancakes, which proved no despicable fare, especially when no better could be obtained. Later in the month, victuals of a much more nauseous kind were anxiously sought for, and sometimes bought at a high price. A peck of meal would easily bring six shillings; butter, six-and-fourpence a pound; a dog, six shillings; and the blood of a horse, twopence per quart. A good cat would draw four-and-sixpence; a rat a shilling; and a mouse a sixpence, in the last week of the siege. Walker tells of a corpulent gentleman, who, conceiving that some of the garrison in the extremity of their hunger looked at him with rather a longing eye, hid himself for three days, till the cannibal desire might have time to subside. Ash tells of one poor fellow who had caught a dog and was dressing it for his dinner. At that moment there came in a man to whom he owed some money, and who demanded that then and there he must give him his money or the dog. The borrower is servant to the lender; the poor man was obliged to hand over the dog to his creditor, and to go dinnerless himself.

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* For the honour of the cloth it is to be hoped that this was not the Episcopal clergyman of Derryloran. The latter was of the same name, and was in the city during the siege.

Bad food, and little food of any kind, produced their natural effects, and every week the mortality of the garrison rose to a higher figure. Children, old men, women, and hardy soldiers, sickened with this and the other complaint, and perished. So great was the mortality, that it helped to prolong the siege, by making the provisions last longer than they otherwise would have done. No man who survived that fearful trial, ever forgot his experience at Derry.

"I could not," says John Hunter, of Maghera, who served as a common soldier throughout the siege, "I could not get a drink of clean water, and suffered heavily from thirst, and was so distressed by hunger that I could have eaten any vermin, but could not get it. Yea, there was nothing that was any kind of flesh or food that I would not have eaten, if I had it. May the good Lord, if it be His pleasure, never let poor woman's son meet with such hardships as I met with at that great siege, for I cannot mention them as I ought. Oh! none will believe, but those who have found it by experience, what some poor creatures suffered in that siege. There were many who had been very curious respecting what they put into their mouths before they came to the siege of Londonderry, who before that siege was ended would have eaten what a dog would not eat—for they would have eaten a dead dog, and be very glad to eat it; and one dog will hardly eat another. I speak from woeful experience, for I myself would have eaten the poorest cat or dog I ever saw with my eyes. The famine was so great that many a man, woman, and child, died from want of food. I myself was so weak from hunger, that I fell under my musket one morning as I was going to the walls; yet God gave me strength to continue all night at my post there, and enabled me to act the part of a soldier as if I had been as strong as ever I was; yet my face was blackened with hunger. I was so hard put to it, by reason of the want of food, that I had hardly any heart to speak or walk; and yet when the enemy was coming, as many a time they did, to storm the walls, then I found as if my former strength returned to me. I am sure it was the Lord kept the city, and none else; for there were many of us that could hardly stand on our feet before the enemy attacked the walls, who, when they were assaulting the out-trenches, ran out against them most nimbly and with great courage. Indeed, it was never the poor starved men that were in Derry that kept it out, but the mighty God of Jacob, to whom be praise for ever and ever." *

* Graham's *Ireland Preserved*, p. 365. The writer of the above served as a soldier in King William's army at the Boyne, at Aughrim, and at the siege of Limerick in 1691. Mr. Graham copied the above extract from his MS. Diary and Journal, which about 1840 was in possession of the old soldier's great grandson, Rev. Jas. Hunter, of the

The simple words of this unlettered soldier picture the sufferings of the garrison with more distinctness and force than the choicest language of the most brilliant of English historians.

TALK OF SURRENDER.—*Wednesday, 10th of July.*

As the straits in which the garrison was placed were well known in the camp, General Hamilton thought that he might now renew the proposal to surrender, with some better hopes of success. Accordingly, on the 10th of July a bomb was cast into the city,* enclosing the following letter :—

"To the Soldiers and Inhabitants of Derry.

"The conditions offered by Lieut.-General Hamilton are sincere; the power he hath of the King is real. Be no longer imposed upon by such as tell you the contrary. You cannot be ignorant of the King's clemency towards his subjects. Such of you as choose to serve the King, shall be entertained without distinction in point of religion. If any choose to leave the kingdom, they shall have passes. You shall be restored to your estates and livings, and have free liberty of religion, whatsoever it be. If you doubt the powers given to General Hamilton by the King, twenty of you may come and see it with freedom, under the King's hand and seal. Be not obsti-

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Third Presbyterian Church, Coleraine. Since the first edition went to press, I have heard that a relative of the family, who emigrated to Australia some years ago, took this manuscript with him. See also *Londerias* iv. 6 ; *Ash,* July 9.

* It is said that the bomb still preserved in the vestibule of the Derry cathedral is that which was used on this occasion.

nate against your natural Prince; expose yourselves no longer to the miseries you undergo, which will grow worse and worse if you continue to be opinionate; for it will be too late to accept of the offer now made you when your condition is so low that you cannot resist the King's forces longer.—*July* 10*th*, 1689."†

An incident, which evidently was a panic on the part of some of the garrison, occurred on the day after this letter was received, and is thus described by Captain Ash, under the 11th of July:—"That evening the Governors caused five or six out of each company to be drawn out, and to march beyond the trench towards the gallows, to alarm the enemy, and to see if there were any great number in the camp. They seeing this, drew up, and Major General Buchan led his men down to the ditch near to the gallows, and lined them everywhere. After our men had marched round the field above the gallows, and were drawing up in a body near the trenches with colours flying, etc., some of the enemy came over the ditches and fired a few shots. Governor Mitchelburn commanded our men to retire to the trenches. Immediately you might have seen all the men running over the ditches, as if the devil drove them, without any cause but a few shots; for no enemy was within a great distance of them: and after pausing some time on what had happened, they dropped one after another towards Bishop's-gate, nor would they nor any of them return, notwithstanding the orders of their Governors and officers, but stood thrusting and thronging each other at the gate, which was kept shut a long time in order to force them to go back; but all would not do."

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† *Ash*, July 10.

Soon after this, a parley was proposed, and a messenger was sent from the camp to know if the garrison was now willing to treat. The hour for the city was very dark indeed. Half the garrison almost had perished; the other half were living on starch, tallow, and horse-flesh; the women and children were dying in swarms; the ships were making no attempt to come up the river, and it was even supposed that they had left the Lough; it was therefore decided to enter upon negociations, were it for no other object than to gain time. Before meeting the Commissioners appointed to treat on behalf of King James, the authorities in the city drew up certain articles to be submitted to Hamilton, as the condition on which the garrison was willing to surrender.* On behalf of the garrison, six persons were appointed to meet a corresponding number from the camp, and a written commission was given them.† If surrender they must in the end, it would be satisfactory to know beforehand the terms which they might expect.

On Saturday, the 13th of July, the Commissioners went out from the city to the camp, and met the Commissioners, consisting of Colonel Sheldon, Sir Neil O'Neill, Sir Edward Vaudry and others, appointed to act on behalf of the besiegers. In a tent prepared for the occasion near the camp, the Commissioners on both sides dined together, and when dinner was over entered on the subject for which they had assembled. After a long debate, everything was agreed upon with the exception of three matters, which the enemy absolutely refused to grant: they would grant no longer time for the surrender of the city than Monday, the 15th, at twelve o'clock; they would allow the hostages, demanded by the garrison as a pledge of their good faith, to be kept in Derry, but not to be sent aboard Kirke's ships; and they would allow the officers and gentlemen, but not the common soldiers of the garrison, to retain their arms.

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* Appendix, No. 9. † Appendix, No. 10.

While the Commissioners were sitting in deliberation upon the terms of surrender, a little boy, sent by Lieutenant Mitchell from the fleet, made his way into the city, having concealed in his garter the following letter from Kirke to Walker:—

"Sir,—I have received yours by the way of Inch; I writ to you Sunday last, that I would endeavour all means imaginable for your relief, and find it impossible by the river, which made me send a party to Inch, where I am going myself to try if I can beat off their camp, or divert them, so that they shall not press you. I have sent officers, ammunition, arms, great guns, etc., to Iniskillen, who have 3,000 foot and 1,500 horse, and a regiment of dragoons, that has promised to come to their relief, and at the same time I will attack the enemy by Inch; I expect 6,000 men from England every minute, they having bin shipt these 8 days; I have stores and victuals for you, and am resolved to relieve you. England and Scotland are in a good posture, and all things very well settled; be good husbands to your victuals, and by God's help we shall overcome these barbarous people: let me hear from you as often as you can, and the messenger shall have what reward he will. I have several of the enemy that deserted to me, who all assure me they cannot stay long. I hear from Iniskillen the Duke of Berwick is beaten; I pray God it be true, for then nothing can hinder them joining you or me.

"Sir, your faithful Servant,
"To Mr. George Walker." "J. KIRKE.

Walker transcribed this letter, but in doing so, perhaps with a view of keeping up the drooping spirits of the garrison, he made the letter say that the party sent to Inch for the relief of the city consisted of 4,000 horse and 9,000 foot—intelligence which for the moment revived the hopes of the garrison and gave them great joy. When the Commissioners returned from the camp, bearing with them the only terms that General Hamilton could be induced to grant, a council of war met to consider the posture of affairs. At this meeting it was observed that Walker was very urgent in favour of a surrender, and when it was used as an argument on the other side that it would be disgraceful to surrender now when thirteen thousand men had landed at Inch and relief was at the very door, he then confessed that that part of the letter had been concocted by himself; an incident not very well calculated to inspire those about him with any very high opinion either of his judgment or integrity. Next day being Sabbath, 14th of July, the council resumed its sittings, and, notwithstanding the opinion of Walker in favour of accepting the terms, they agreed upon a policy of NO SURRENDER, except the enemy would extend the time till the 26th of July, and would send to the ships the hostages to be given in security that they meant to fulfil their engagement.

This, General Hamilton regarded as tantamount to absolute rejection of his proposals, and so the whole negociations came to an end. As the result proved, the enemy committed a mistake in not accepting the terms agreed to by the garrison.*

HOPES FROM INCH.—*Thursday, 18th July.*

On Tuesday the 16th, the Fleet, as if despairing to force the passage of the river, left Lough Foyle, rounded the peninsula of Ennishowen, and entered Lough Swilly. On arriving at Inch, about five miles from Derry, the boy who carried the former message returned with a letter from Kirke, sewed in the button of his breeches, announcing that with the help of God he would attempt the relief of the city soon. The use of sending these messages at such a risk of life, it is now difficult to understand, so long as he lay idle in his ships, and did nothing for the starving garrison. The lad on his way back from the city, with an answer sewed in the folds of his clothing, was captured by the enemy, but he swallowed the letter for fear it should be discovered. Eventually he escaped, and when he reached Inch, Kirke made him an ensign, to mark his appreciation of the boy's sense and gallantry.

All the hopes of the garrison were now turned in the direction of Lough Swilly. On Friday, the 19th, a great shout was heard from that quarter, and on Sabbath the 21st, a large body of the Jacobite troops was seen to move in that direction. The following day it was reported in the city that some officers of the fleet had been sent to reinforce the Enniskilleners, and it was added that in a few days they would return at the head of an army to relieve the city by land. Had Kirke done his part with but half the skill and courage that the Enniskilleners displayed, provisions in the streets of Derry, six weeks before, might have been sold as cheap as they were before the siege; when, as we are told, on good authority, there might be had a salmon for twopence, a fat goose for threepence, and forty-five eggs for a penny.* But whatever was the nature of his movements the enemy seem to have suspected that some attempt to relieve the city would very soon be made. It was observed that they now removed the great guns which from the opposite hill had so often played on Butcher's-gate, and planted them along the river to cover the passage at the boom.

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* *Mackenzie*, July 11 and 13.

THE LAST FIGHT.—*Thursday, 25th July.*

There were several small skirmishes on the 16th and 17th of July. On the latter of these days, Colonel Murray, who had gone along with Captain Noble to repel an attack upon the earthworks outside Butcher's-gate, was shot through both his thighs, and so thoroughly disabled that he was not fully recovered till the November following. This accounts for the fact that his name is not mentioned in connexion with the important transactions which soon afterwards took place.

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* *Ireland's Lament.*, p. 4.

The last conflict between the two parties was the fight for the cows, which came off in the open space between the city and Pennyburn Mill. The enemy had cattle grazing behind their lines, at no great distance from the town, which afforded a very tempting prize to men who were dying of hunger. Five hundred men assembled at Shipquay-gate, with the view of making a sortie, and seizing the cattle. They divided into three bands : one of which went out at Ship-quay-gate, another at Butcher's-gate, and the third at Bishop's-gate. They fell on Sir John Fitzgerald's regiment with great fury, beating them out of their trenches, killing as many as sixty, and wounding as many more. Fitzgerald himself was among the slain. So soon as the enemy, on the hill above, saw their men fleeing from the trenches, they poured down to their assistance in such great numbers that the attacking party had to retreat to the city without effecting their object—the capture of the cattle. Indeed, so soon as the fight commenced, the camp lads, easily divining the purpose of the sortie, drove the cattle out of sight away over the hill. Men weak for want of nourishment were not able to fight as they once did : so the prey escaped, and the assailants had to content themselves with returning to the city, with two officers and two privates as their prisoners.

Next day the garrison made an experiment of another kind. They took one of their last cows outside the gate, smeared her with tar, covered the tar with tow, and set the tow on fire. This cruelty was not without an object. Its design was that, when the cattle of the enemy would hear the poor animal roar in her agony, instinct would prompt them to run to her relief, and thus bring them within the possibility of capture. But the result did not reward the ingenuity of the contrivers. It did not gain them a cow from the enemy; it almost lost them their own. When she felt the pain of the fire, the poor animal plunged madly and broke her bonds, escaped from her tormentors, and, like another deserter, would have gone over to the enemy, had not a shot from the walls ended at once her sufferings and her life.

Saturday, the 27th of July, had come, and as yet no relief from any quarter for the starving city. The last of their cows was killed; the last available horse was slaughtered; all the dogs had been already devoured. Captain Ash wrote that day in his diary, "Next Wednesday is our last, if relief does not arrive before it." But God is mighty and good. In that moment of despair, relief was nearer than they had supposed. The darkest hour of the night is the hour before the dawn.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELIEF.

ON Sabbath forenoon, 28th of July, the sufferings within the walls had reached their climax. That morning eight shots were fired from the flat roof of the cathedral, and a flag was lowered, to intimate once more to the fleet, which had again returned to Lough Foyle, the extreme distress of the city. For the first time, the fleet gave signs of understanding the signals: it fired six great guns in answer, as if to say that at last something was about to be done.

That day orders were issued by Kirke from aboard the *Swallow*, that three small vessels laden with provisions, under protection of the *Dartmouth* man-of-war frigate, should attempt the passage of the river. The *Dartmouth*, commanded by Captain Leake, had been ordered round from Carrickfergus for this service; the victuallers were the *Mountjoy*, of Derry, Capt. Micaiah Browning, a native of the city; the *Phœnix*, of Coleraine, Captain Andrew Douglas; and the *Jerusalem*, Captain Reynell. The *Dartmouth* was to engage the fort at Culmore; the *Mountjoy* and *Phœnix* to attempt the boom; and the *Jerusalem* was not to sail until it was certain that the boom was passed by one or other of the companion ships. There can be no doubt that this was a very hazardous enterprise. The provision ships were very small: the *Mountjoy* was only 135 tons burden, and the *Phœnix* and *Jerusalem* still less. They had to sail for four miles up a river, where, for a great part of the way, the passage is made more than usually narrow by shelving banks; and where, throughout the whole way, both banks were in exclusive possession of the enemy. They had to pass under the guns of the castle at Culmore, and to encounter the two forts which covered the boom. If the enemy had known how to handle their guns, and had had guns enough to handle, the attempt to pass must have proved a disastrous failure.*

What determined Kirke at last to make the effort, which six weeks before might have been made with less risk and with equal success, is not now exactly known. It was to relieve the city that the fleet had been sent from England; but for seven weeks it went backwards and forwards between Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly; and made no endeavour to achieve the grand object for which it came. There can be no doubt that in this interval James Gordon, minister of Glendermot, the man who at the outset of the troubles had counselled the apprentices of Derry to shut the gates in face of King James's troops, got aboard the fleet, had an interview with Kirke, and pointed out how the matter could be done.† But an officer of Kirke's character was not so likely to be roused to action by the opinion of a man who was only a minister, not a soldier, as by the positive orders of General Schomberg, recently appointed commander-in-chief of all the English forces in Ireland, that the attempt must be made.* This view of the case was that entertained at the time.†

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* *Reid*, vol. ii., chap. xix.

† That Gordon rendered this service there is no reason to doubt, for we have it on testimony which must have been derived from himself; but what really influenced the action of Kirke it was not in Gordon's power to testify. We can only conjecture.

The wind, which in the morning blew from the north-west, veered round in the afternoon towards the north; and, taking advantage of the wind and rising tide, the three ships set sail up the stream. The first obstacle which they had to encounter was the fort and castle of Culmore, planted at the neck of the river, where it attains its narrowest point before it opens out into the Lough. So soon as the *Dartmouth* came within range, the guns from the fort opened upon her immediately. "Captain Leake," says the *London Gazette* of that time, "behaved himself very bravely and prudently in this action, neither firing great nor small shot, though he was plied very hard with both, till he came on the wind of the castle, and there beginning to batter, that the victuallers might pass under shelter of his guns, he lay between the castle and them within musket-shot, and came to an anchor."‡ Under cover of the *Dartmouth*, the two provision ships succeeded in making their way past this formidable defence, and when they were safely through, the frigate having done its work, sailed into the little estuary of the river above the fort, where it took in its sails and cast anchor.

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* Wodrow's *Analecta*; Macaulay's *History*; *Reid*, vol ii., p. 387.

† "For Couns. Cairnes arrived immediately,
And brought an express from His Majesty,
Commanding Kirke for to relieve the town."
Londerias, iv. 12.

‡ *Reid*, ch. xix., p. 386.

The two provision ships, accompanied by the long-boat of the *Swallow*, "well barricadoed and armed with seamen to cut the boome," were now left to themselves. The tide was in their favour, but the wind, which was very gentle before, now as evening approached sank into a dead calm. The enemy on both sides the river, lined the shores and made their guns, great and small, play at them without ceasing. Though the balls flew about like hail, the ships held right on, the gallant men aboard being fully determined to succeed or perish. The *Mountjoy*, being the larger of the two little vessels, occupied the post of honour; it advanced through the lines of fire from both sides the river, and with all its force struck the boom. Rebounding from the obstruction, the vessel ran aground, and wild huzzas from the enemy announced their triumph at this disaster. To make all sure, they fired all their guns at the stranded vessel, and began to prepare for boarding. But it was not come to that as yet. Meanwhile, the crew of the long-boat, under command of the boatswain's mate, were with hatchets and cutlasses hewing and hacking away at the boom. The tide was still rising. The stranded vessel discharged all her guns on the land side, and the rebound caused by this broadside thrust her out into deep water again. The second time she ran against the boom with all her force; this time the barrier was broken, and with its broken fragments the hopes of the Jacobites floated down the stream.* That moment decided the victory, and both sides knew it. King James's men knew well that Derry and Ireland alike were lost to their master, when they saw the two gallant little ships sailing up slowly through Ross's Bay.

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* "The boom was so badly constructed," says Avaux, writing to Louis on the $\frac{14}{4}$ of August, "that it could not resist the long-boats

Only five persons aboard the ships were actually killed. Of these the most distinguished was Micaiah Browning, captain of the *Mountjoy*. He was standing on the deck, with sword in hand, giving his orders and encouraging his men, when, at the moment the boom was broken, he was struck by a gun-shot on the head. He died the death of a true soldier, in the arms of victory, leaving behind him a name that well deserves to be for ever remembered in the city that he saved.

Meanwhile the famished citizens, with their gaunt visages and tottering limbs, occupied the walls. From the higher parts of the city every eye was turned in the direction of Culmore; and they looked, with an interest most intense, upon a transaction in which they could take no part, but whose success or failure was to them life or death. Faces blackened with hunger and the smoke of powder, clothes soiled and torn, eyes dimmed with tears, and limbs bearing upon them the scars of many battles, must have been conspicuous in the crowd of officers and men, of women and children, who that long summer evening stood upon the battlements, which their sufferings and heroism have ever since made classic ground. By five o'clock in the afternoon, it was noticed that the ships were very near Culmore, and soon after, the sound of the cannon, as the

which towed the two little vessels which carried the victuals, and we knew already more than once that this boom was broken often by the force of the wind and tide alone."

fort and the frigate came to close quarters, could be distinctly heard. Then the besiegers from all parts of the camp were seen to hurry down in swarms, and to line the water's edge, some, no doubt, out of curiosity, and others to take a shot at the ships. An hour or so later, they were seen approaching that terrible boom—more terrible, after all, in imagination than reality. As the wind died away into a calm, their spirits sank, for they knew well how much that would add to the peril of the enterprise. Then the smoke that enveloped the scene of action for a time hid everything from view, but the sound of the guns told them that a desperate fight was going forward between the vessels and the forts that guarded the boom. The huzzas that followed the grounding of the *Mountjoy* made them aware of some sad disaster, the nature of which they could not at the time understand, but which made their dark faces grow blacker still. As it drew near sunset, the enemy were observed removing their guns from place to place along the river side nearer to the town, with the view of anticipating the vessels, which, it was now clear, had broken the boom. The sun was setting, when the two ships, towed by the *Swallow's* boats, and without a breath of air to waft them forward, slowly sailed up from Ross's Bay, and drew near the city. There was no further room for doubt; the city was saved. The joy of that hour no tongue can tell, no pen describe. If the measure of human joy is in proportion to the intensity of anxiety and suffering which go before it, some of them must have felt a depth of gladness then which has never been exceeded in this world. The inward feelings showed themselves by signs not to be mistaken; cannon roared from the wall, the bells rang out from the church steeple a merry chime, and bonfires blazed on the streets.*

It was ten o'clock on that memorable Sabbath evening, and the shades of night had already fallen on the city, when the *Phœnix* of Coleraine, which had taken the lead since the boom was passed, and after her the *Mountjoy*, anchored alongside the little quay, that then stretched out into the river at Shipquay-gate. A shout of frantic joy from the half-starved men and women on the walls, hailed their arrival in the harbour. The *Phœnix* brought eight hundred bolls of meal, sent from Scotland, for the relief of the garrison. The *Mountjoy* was laden with beef, pease, flour, and biscuits. A rampart of barrels, filled with clay, to be a cover from the guns at the Waterside, was soon thrown up outside Shipquay-gate, and, protected by this blind, the work of unlading commenced. Distribution was made according to the necessities of each, and in a few hours all fears of death by starvation were removed.†

For two days longer—Monday and Tuesday—the enemy continued to fire at the city from their trenches. But they now were well aware that the game was over, and that they had lost. All this time they were secretly preparing for flight. On Wednesday, 31st of July, they set fire to the country houses all around the city; that evening they burned their own houses and tents, and before daylight on the morning of Thursday they were well forward on the way to Lifford and Strabane, in full march for Dublin. Their rear was covered with a strong guard of horse ; the city had no horse to pursue, and the gallant defenders were physically too much exhausted to interfere with the retreat. At Strabane the news met them that Lord Mountcashel had been defeated and captured by the Enniskilleners. So much were they frightened by this intelligence, that, in order to lighten their burden, and thus increase their speed, they burst their large guns, threw the smaller into the river, and pushed forward with redoubled haste, leaving many of their sick behind. They burned Omagh, as they passed through, and, by way of Dungannon and Charlemont, marched on towards Dublin. Had Enniskillen only known in time how matters stood, and met them as they fled through the green valleys of Tyrone, very few of them would have gone farther, and the battle of the Boyne, fought the following year, would have been made altogether unnecessary by the men of Newtownbutler.

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* *Londerias*, iv. 13.

† Avaux announced the relief to his master in the following terms: —"At this moment, Sire, when I was going to seal my letter, this Tuesday the 9th of August (30th of July), at eleven o'clock in the evening. . . a courier arrived from Derry to tell that two little vessels have brought victuals into the town; and to add to this sad news, Monsieur Rosen is very sick and his life is in danger."

If we take into account the numbers that perished in the siege of Derry, in the camp as well as in the city, it was one of the most disastrous struggles of modern times. In the town, after making allowance for all that retired before Hamilton sat down in front of it, there were perhaps 20,000 persons, of whom over 7,000 were fighting men. Of these, only eighty were killed in battle ; but so much were the numbers thinned by wounds, exposure, hunger, and disease, that at the close of the siege the 7,000 were reduced to 4,300, and one-fourth of the survivors were unfit for any service. The mortality among the non-combatants must have been still greater. On the whole, we cannot be far from the truth when we estimate that, in the 105 days during which the siege lasted, there perished in the city ten thousand persons.*

The numbers of the besiegers who perished must have been very great also. The 3,000 sent at first to Ulster under Hamilton, were joined by 14,000 more sent from Dublin after the King's arrival from France. Repeated reinforcements were forwarded from the capital, and at no time during the siege did the numbers of the enemy fall under 10,000.† They had the advantage of provisions, the open country, and liberty; yet from fatigue and exposure, they too suffered much from sickness, and numbers of them died.‡ More of them than of the garrison were killed in actual fight. We have no means of ascertaining exactly the amount of the loss; but it was at the time estimated at one hundred officers, and eight or nine thousand men.* This most probably is no great exaggeration; and the loss was all the greater when it is considered that those who perished were, perhaps, the best trained men that were in the service of Tyrconnel and his master.

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* In a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1705, it is stated that 12,000 perished in the city during the siege by sword and famine.—Hamill's *Danger and Folly*, p. 11.

† If any credit is to be given to the besiegers, their force never amounted to anything like this. The Duke of Berwick says, that the blockading force amounted to 6,000 men, and they had only six cannon (*see Excidium Macariae*, Note 105). Avaux, under date May $\frac{14}{4}$, states that "the besieged are nearly twice as strong as the besiegers." This certainly is not correct.

‡ This can be understood, when we remember that Avaux writing to Louvois on May $\frac{12}{2}$, states in regard to the besiegers:—"They have neither hospital, nor medicine, nor victuals, nor transports, nor ammunition, nor anything that is necessary to their subsistence." And again, $\frac{28}{18}$ of July:—"Of thirty-six French gunners who were there there are five only fit for service; the others are either sick or killed." He mentions also on 30th of July that 3,000 soldiers were sick at Strabane, without the means of transit.

The result of the successful defence of Derry, as stated by King James's friends, was that he was not able to send an army into Scotland to reinforce Dundee, who was about to raise the Highland clans in his favour, and still less to carry the war into England.† The immediate effect was that Scotland and England were protected from invasion, and what remained of the struggle between the two kings was localized in Ireland. The fall of Derry was waited for during the summer months of 1689 by the King at Dublin with great impatience, for he knew well the interests at stake; and it seems that the long delay did not raise his Irish and French soldiers in his estimation. He is reported to have said rather petulantly and ungenerously, in regard to men who were doing their best to serve him, "If I had as many Englishmen in my army as I have of others, they would have brought me Derry stone by stone ere this."‡ But it was not so to be. The defeat of his army gave a new turn to the history of the nation. England and

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* Under date the $\frac{18}{8}$ August, Avaux states that the regiments coming from Derry are so feeble, that taking one with the other, they do not consist of more than two hundred men each.

† Avaux states that the object in sending the Jacobite army to the North was "á maintenir ce canton rebelle dans son devoir, ou mesme á faire passer deux ou trois mille hommes en Escosse et se joindre aux Montagnards."—*Avaux to Louvois*, from Dublin, $\frac{\text{25 March}}{\text{April 4}}$, 1689.

‡ Story, *Continuation*, p. 5.

Scotland did not rise in defence of a king whose whole power was not sufficient to reduce a small provincial town. The civil war did not cross the Channel. As the flower of the Jacobite army was now cut off, the end of the campaign was made more easy and certain; the rising hopes of King James received a shock under the walls of Derry which they never recovered; and it only remained for the Boyne and Aughrim to complete the work which sent the Royal Family into exile, and in the end secured religious and civil freedom for all classes of the people.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEFENCE OF ENNISKILLEN.

WE must now return to describe what was passing at another place during the time that the army of King James was encamped before the walls of Derry.

The alarm felt by the whole Protestant population towards the end of 1688, in consequence of the action of Tyrconnel and of the demeanour of the Irish peasantry, was largely shared in by the people of Enniskillen. A copy of the anonymous letter to Lord Mount-Alexander, announcing the intended massacre of the Protestants,* reached them on the 7th of December—the day that Derry closed its gates against the Redshanks; and although there, as elsewhere, the 9th passed over quietly, the popular alarm excited by the letter did not pass away. On the 11th a letter was received from the Government authorities in Dublin, directing them to make arrangements for having two companies of infantry quartered in their town. This redoubled their uneasiness.

The people were in perplexity as to what in these circumstances ought to be done. To assume an attitude of resistance to the constituted authorities of the country was no light matter: on the other hand, rumours of a massacre were rife; the native Irish in their neighbourhood were providing themselves with arms; it was an unusual thing to have a garrison planted among them; and the probability, as they believed, was, that the day for cutting their throats was only postponed until everything was ready, and till, with the assistance of the soldiery, it could be done with the greater safety and convenience. While the town was in this state of uncertainty as to what ought to be done, three men, Wm. Browning, Robert Clarke, and Wm. MacCarmick, to whom were soon afterwards added James Ewart and Allen Cathcart, came together, and resolved to refuse admittance to the soldiers, whatever consequences might ensue. The Prince of Orange, as they knew, had landed in England some five weeks before; civil war was imminent in Ireland; North and South most likely would be pitted against each other; and it appeared to them, that, by refusing to admit the troops, they might be able, not only to protect themselves, but to hold the most important town between Connaught and Ulster, in the interest of their party. However plausible such considerations, it was nevertheless a mad resolve, in face of the facts; which facts simply were, that arrayed against them was the whole power of the Irish Government, and that all the means of resistance Enniskillen had was ten pounds of powder, twenty firelocks, and eighty men. The five men, however, did resolve, sent notice of their determination to the surrounding country, and craved its assistance; set carpenters at work on the drawbridge, in connection with the stone bridge lately erected at the east end of the town; and, like men in earnest, took every step that they could think of to increase their power of resistance.

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* See p. 28.

THEY SHOW FIGHT.—*Sunday, 16th December.*

Much time was not given them to prepare. On Wednesday the 12th, an express arrived from Daniel Eccles, Esq., of Clones, announcing that Captain Nugent and his officers had reached that town, on their way to Enniskillen.* The receipt of this intelligence increased the perplexity and alarm that prevailed. Captain Corry, a gentleman of some influence who resided in the neighbourhood, and indeed most of the inhabitants, were in favour of admitting the soldiers; others were in favour of keeping them out so long as it was possible. MacCarmick rode out to consult Gustavus Hamilton, Esq., a gentleman who resided at five miles distance on the west of the town, and when returning was met by an express from the Provost or Chief Magistrate, carrying a letter, which shows the irresolution that still prevailed among the leading men of the place.†

The whole subject was now debated over again. Mr. Hamilton gave his influence to the side of those who thought that the town should be defended. His policy eventually carried. The drawbridge was completed in spite of Captain Corry; all the Roman Catholics residing in the place were sent away, and the Protestants of the surrounding country were invited to come in and to assist in the defence. In this work, the Rev. Robert Kelso, Minister of Enniskillen, was very zealous; he "laboured," says MacCarmick, "both publicly and privately in animating his hearers to take up arms and stand upon their own defence, showing example himself by wearing arms and marching in the head of them when together."

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* Appendix, No. 11.

† Appendix, No. 12.

Mr. Kelso was ordained the first minister of Raloo, near Larne, on the 7th of May, 1673. The congregation there was weak and unable to maintain a minister, so much so that in the following year he was obliged to remove from the place. He settled afterwards in Wicklow, where he continued till 1685.* Soon afterwards he removed to Enniskillen, where he entered enthusiastically into the designs of his fellow-townsmen to protect themselves against Tyrconnel, and acted as a member of the council of officers who planned the defence. The following letter of his, addressed to Counsellor Cairns at Derry, shows the state of feeling in Enniskillen at the time :—

"ENNISKILLEN, DECEMBER 15, 1688.

"SIR,—After an alarm of an intended massacre, there are two foot companies sent to be quartered in this small place, and though we be deserted by our magistrates, yet we intend to repulse them. You are therefore intreated in this common cause to look on our condition, and if we come to be made a leading card, sit not still and see us sink. The bearer can more fully inform you of our condition. The Lord direct and preserve you and us, who intend hurt to none, but sinless self-preservation.

"This from yours, &c.,

"ROBERT KELSO."*

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* *Christian Unitarian*, vol. iv., pp. 15 and 56.

† Mackenzie, *Nar.*, p. 5.

The gentlemen, Allen Cathcart and Wm. MacCarmick, who were sent to Derry to seek a supply of arms and ammunition, carried not only the preceding letter from Kelso, but also the following, from the inhabitants of Enniskillen, written evidently with the view of establishing an understanding between the two towns :—

"GENTLEMEN,—The frequent intelligence we have from all parts of this kingdom of a general massacre of the Protestants, and two companies of foot of Sir Thomas Newcom's regiment, viz., Captain Nugent's and Captain Shurloe's, being upon their march to garrison here ; and now within ten miles, hath put us upon a resolution of refusing them entrance, our desire being only to preserve our own lives, and the lives of our neighbours, this place being the most considerable pass between Connaught and Ulster, and hearing of your resolutions, we thought it convenient to impart this to you, as likewise to beg your assistance both in your advice and relief, especially in helping us with some powder, and in carrying on a correspondence with us hereafter, as we shall with God's assistance do with you ; which is all at present from, Gentlemen, [your]

"Faithful friends and fellow Christians,
"THE INHABITANTS OF ENNISKILLEN.

"From Enniskillen, December 15, 1688.

"We are not now in a condition to spare men for a guard, therefore must entreat your assistance in that.

"ALLEN CATHCART.
WILL. BROWNING.
THO. SHORE.
WILLIAM SMITH.

ARCH. HAMILTON.
MALC. CATHCART.
JAS. EWART.
ROBERT CLARKE."

On the day after this letter was written, Sabbath the 16th, the news came that the two foot companies sent by Tyrconnel, had reached Lismella, only four miles from the town. Most of the townsmen were engaged in public worship at the time, but they soon retired, took up their arms, and put themselves in array. Notwithstanding all the help sent them by the country, their whole strength did not exceed two hundred foot, and one hundred and fifty horse, ill-armed, and with no military training or experience. They left town with the intention of persuading, if possible, the soldiers to return, but prepared, if necessary, to resist their entrance. Rumour magnified alike their numbers and determination. No sooner did the soldiers come in view of the Enniskilleners, than, without waiting for their approach, they turned and fled to Maguiresbridge, whither they were followed by their officers, who, at the time when the encounter was imminent, were dining quietly at Captain Corry's, not dreaming of an armed resistance to Government orders. Next day they fell back to Cavan, where they awaited the commands of Tyrconnel.

GOVERNOR HAMILTON.—*Tuesday, 18th December.*

Local magnates, as befits their importance, move slowly. The magistrates had not yet come to understand that the country was in a state of civil war. Two of them (Sir Gerard Irvine and Captain Corry), seeing Mr. Browning riding into town at the head of a party of horse, had him seized, and threatened to send him to jail on the charge of appearing in arms against Government. They meant to frighten the townspeople from their determination to protect themselves; but notice was forthwith sent to the two justices to leave town immediately, else they might soon find themselves in the place where they threatened to send Browning. The justices took the hint and rode off. Sir Gerard afterwards took sides with King William, but Captain Corry used all his influence against the town, until he left the country in the March following.

On the 15th of December, the town elected as its governor, Gustavus Hamilton, Esq. He was a nephew of Lord Glenawley, and had been a cornet in the army until some short time before, when, in common with other Protestant officers, he had been disbanded by Tyrconnel. Though not present at the time of his election, he was courageous and spirited enough to accept the trust. He forthwith removed his family from the country into town, and fixed his residence in the Castle of Enniskillen—the residence of Sir Michael Cole, proprietor of the place, who was then in England.* He organized the townsmen into two companies of foot. One of these was under Captain Allen Cathcart; the other, under Captain Malcolm Cathcart, consisted mostly of Presbyterians or "Nonconformists," as they term them — "that party," says MacCarmick, "effectually espousing our interest, and never declined us in the most dangerous times." †

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* "The Coles came to Ireland among the colonists of James I., and settled in Fermanagh in 1611."—Froude's *Ireland*, i., p. 98. The head of this family is now the Earl of Enniskillen.

† *Further Account*, p. 11.

INTERVIEW WITH MOUNTJOY.

Cathcart and MacCarmick, sent to carry the preceding letters to Derry, appear to have been delayed for some days before they were able to fulfil their mission; for before they arrived at the place of their destination they learned that in pursuance of the arrangement with Mountjoy of the 21st December, the citizens of Derry had admitted a part of his regiment to garrison their town. The delegates from Enniskillen, nevertheless, were kindly received, and returned home with the assurance that Derry was willing to help them so far as it was in its power. On their way home they delivered to Mountjoy, then at Newtownstewart, the following letter explanatory of their conduct and determination :—

"Your Lordship cannot but know what dreadful apprehension we were struck with, when from several parts of this kingdom we received the sad account of a designed massacre of the Protestants; in the midst of which fears, to heighten our sorrows we had news of two companies of foot, all Papists, ordered to garrison upon us: and further, to deject our despairing spirits, the threats of the officers of these companies of treading us in the kennels and dragging of our intestines about the streets, was assured us. Nay, more, my lord: the frequent assembling of the Irish in great companies on all hands of us, their restless pains in making skeins and pikes, insomuch that a man, and he of a mean fortune, dispersed in one week three-score; and having likewise the intelligence of your lordship's being confined for only desiring that the Protestants might have liberty to buy arms for their own defence, did create in us so great a fear that we could not propose safety, or the preservation of our lives, in any human probability but by refusing these two companies entrance into our town. My lord, our resolutions are firm and fully fixed to preserve this place as a refuge of many souls to fly to if any massacre should be attempted, which we daily fear and tremble to think of.

"These things seriously considered, and seeing so great and apparent dangers hovering over our heads, we can do no less than unanimously resolve not to admit any Popish garrison here, which we hope your lordship will represent favourably to the Government. We return very humble and hearty thanks for your kind and prudent message by Mr. Mervin, and do assure your lordship that we will demean ourselves with all the sobriety imaginable: neither did it ever enter into our thoughts to spill one drop of blood, unless we be thereunto forced in our own defence, or to take from any man the value of one farthing; which we entreat your lordship to believe from, my lord, your lordship's most humble and obedient servants,

"THE INHABITANTS OF ENNISKILLEN.

"Dec. 21, 1688." *

The delegates from Enniskillen who presented this letter to Mountjoy had an interview with him at Newtonstewart. He inquired their strength, and then told them that they must receive a garrison of the King's soldiers—there was no help for it. MacCarmick replied that they did not think that it would be safe for them to do so. "The King will protect you" said his lordship.

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* *Further Account*, p. 11.

"My lord," replied Cathcart, "the King cannot protect himself." His lordship walked about the room for some time without speaking, as if lost in thought. Then he told the deputation that he would go to Enniskillen and confer with the inhabitants in a few days, but that in the meantime they must be cautious and shed no blood. Before Lord Mountjoy was able to carry out this intention he was sent for by Tyrconnel, and despatched to France on the fool's errand already described.

PREPARATIONS.—*December*, 1688—*April*, 1689.

During the remaining part of December, little was done at Enniskillen except to break the ice around the town, which, during that winter, was so strong as to permit men on foot to cross Lough Erne in safety, and which, to some extent, imperilled the safety of the little garrison, that was protected by no walls, save walls of water. About the end of the month a letter was received from Lord Blayney, advising them to stand out against admitting a garrison of Roman Catholic soldiers into their town, and enclosing a letter which had been sent to his lordship from Belfast.*

It was an easy matter for friends at a distance to advise the Enniskilleners thus to hold out against the Government, but it was impossible to take the advice without a supply of arms and ammunition. Derry had little to spare; all it had was needed at home. To procure a supply, Hugh Hamilton and Allen Cathcart were sent to England, and were also instructed to present an address to the Prince of Orange, as it was now known that King James had fled to France. They carried with them a commission from the Governor empowering them to act on behalf of the garrison.*

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* See Appendix, No. 13.

The Commissioners were to pass over to Scotland by way of Donaghadee, and were instructed in passing to present to the Lords and Gentlemen of the North-east of Ulster the following letter asking assistance :—

The Governor of Enniskillen to Lord Mount-Alexander.

"ENNISKILLEN, JANUARY 23RD, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

"MY LORD,

"Whilst we and all the Protestants of this kingdom groaned under the fear of approaching miseries, and there was nothing but an universal dread of imminent ruin suggested to our thoughts, and that we see our religion, our laws, lives, and our all at stake, so that nothing could be added to our danger, but our willingness to lie under whatsoever was imposed upon us ; the law of self-preservation (one of the ancientest of the world) constrained us rather to choose a hazardous undertaking than a voluntary slavery, to which we were the more provoked by the insulting menaces of those, who under the pretence of quartering upon us, came to pillage us, and designed to make this their entrance to the devastation of this part of the Province. So that not being willing to be enslaved and help to make others so too, this pass being the only inlet from Connaught to Ulster, from whence, as by an inundation, it might have been overflowed, WE STAND UPON OUR GUARD, AND DO RESOLVE BY THE BLESSING OF GOD

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* See Appendix, No. 14.

RATHER TO MEET OUR DANGER THAN EXPECT IT.* We doubt not but your Lordship's consideration, with others of that part of the country, has suggested thoughts of this nature to you also, which may induce you to a necessary defence of yourselves and others; and therefore do intreat your Lordship's candid and sincere advice in the management of this great affair, too weighty for our weak shoulders to bear alone, since we are sure to be the first shall meet with the dangerous and highly incensed revengeful hands. Our great hope is, that God will incline your Lordship to our assistance, and give us courage and success in this so just an undertaking. We intreat credit may be given to these our messengers, Mr. Hugh Hamilton and Mr. Allen Cathcart, who are well acquainted with the proceedings of those who shall not fail to continue—

"Your Lordship's faithful humble Servant,
"GUSTAVUS HAMILTON."†

To this letter a kind and favourable answer was received in due time.

Most of the month of January was spent in preparations for the expected struggle, in collecting ammunition food, and forage, enrolling the men in companies, putting them in a condition to fight, and setting the town in order for a siege. Intimation of the appointment of a Council of Gentlemen to act for the North-east of Ulster was at last brought them in a document, a copy of which is appended.‡

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* Right noble words! Acted on by Enniskillen in the past, and well worthy to be its motto for the future.

† Hamilton's *Actions*, p. 58; *Further Account*, p. 13.

‡ Appendix, No. 15.

Intelligence at the same time reached Enniskillen that Lord Mount-Alexander had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in the North-east of Ulster, by the Consult or Council now inaugurated.* The documents conveying this information, were brought by Captain Thomas Cole, who was sent to ask the men of Enniskillen to unite themselves with the North-east Association, and to take their orders. It would appear from their reply, that an effort was made at the same time to induce them to accept as colonels, Captain Corry and Sir Gerard Irvine, the two gentlemen who hitherto had given them no countenance, and who at first had threatened to imprison their leaders. To this Enniskillen would by no means consent, as is evident from the reply :—

"MY LORDS,

"Yours we have, for which we return humble and hearty thanks. The methods of your proceedings we likewise received by Captain Cole, a messenger from Lord Blayney. We have had several meetings with the gentlemen of this county to join ourselves in your Association, and now look upon ourselves obliged to deal plainly with your Lordships. When first this poor Corporation unanimously joined in a firm resolution of refusing a Popish garrison, having a regard to the consequence of this place, and the general preservation of this country, we addressed ourselves to all the gentlemen in it to join with us and to stand by us in this so necessary an undertaking ; but found the most leading men not only to refuse us but to oppose our resolution to that degree, as to apprehend some of us, with intention to commit us to gaol if admitted. When this failed, they used their interest and power in hindering the country to join toward our preservation and their own, and endeavoured to represent us ill to the Government, as we are credibly informed. Yet notwithstanding these discouragements, Gustavus Hamilton, a gentleman of our country, took us by the hand and hitherto hath used his diligence and uttermost endeavour to support us. He hath now ten companies of foot in arms, each consisting of seventy-two private men; a very good troop of an hundred horse, well armed with carbines and pistols; and by an instrument under our hands we have elected him Governor of this place and Colonel of our forces.

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* Appendix, No. 16.

"The gentlemen that at first opposed our intentions, have had of late several meetings, and now show a willingness to join, provided Sir Gerard Irvine may be made Colonel of horse, and our Governor his Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain Corry, Colonel of foot, so consequently our Governor here, who is the man of the world we most doubt, we having several admonishments from very good hands that our fears are not groundless.

"We hope your Lordships, considering our weak rise, the dangers we are now in, the extraordinary kindness and favour we have found from Gustavus Hamilton, and the reasons we have to doubt the sincerity of others, that your Lordships will be pleased to continue us in your favour, and believe that this is the true state of our condition. We doubt not but evil inclined spirits may set us forth otherwise, which we hope your Lordships will give no credit to, but allow us the liberty of subscribing ourselves,

"Your Lordships' faithful humble Servants,
"THE INHABITANTS OF ENNISKILLEN."*

Immediately after this letter was despatched, the garrison issued the following declaration :—

"We, the inhabitants of Enniskillen, with our associates, having regard to the great and imminent danger hanging over our heads, receiving intelligence from all parts of this kingdom of Ireland that the Irish Papists are, with all diligence and celerity, arming themselves, as is believed, to our destruction: and being, with the assistance of Almighty God, resolved to stand upon our guard, we, thereunto encouraged by a declaration set forth by the nobility and gentry of the Counties of Antrim, Down, and Armagh, satisfying us that they have taken up arms in their own defence, we therefore think fit, and do hereby admonish all Protestants of this county, and the country adjacent, to do the same. And for their future security and preservation, we desire that all the inhabitants of this county, and the adjacent parts, may assemble themselves here, with their arms and horses, on Monday next, to join with us in this so necessary undertaking, and there to be enlisted, that men may be appointed to command them. We further desire that all the neighbourhood may bring in their provisions, to be secured for them in this place as a sure refuge for them to fly to in time of trouble: and those that do not now lay up provisions for themselves and families shall not be admitted to inhabit here, or relieved from hence hereafter.

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* *Further Account*, p. 21.

"Dated at Enniskillen, the 27th of January, 168$\frac{8}{9}$."[*]

A copy, both of the above Declaration and of the Declaration of the Lords of the North-east, was sent to all the gentlemen of the country round Enniskillen, accompanied with the following letter from Governor Hamilton, summoning them and their people to a general meeting :—

"Sir—We have here enclosed the resolutions of all the gentlemen of the Counties of Down, Antrim, and Armagh, together with what we resolve to do. This day we had by express, from an eminent person in this country, directions to be upon our guard and ready in twelve hours' warning. Our earnest request to you is, that you may give the same instructions through your country, and to appear here on Monday next, with what force you can raise, both horse and foot, to the end they may be enlisted and officers appointed; where we will discover more to you and consult what further measures may be taken for our preservation, according to the emergency of affairs. Your diligence and compliance in this is not doubted by, Sir, your loving friends,

"Gustavus Hamilton,
"And the rest of the Inhabitants of Enniskillen."[†]

In accordance with this invitation, a general meeting was held in order to make a show of strength, to give waverers an opportunity of choosing their side, and to encourage each other. At this meeting Governor Hamilton was chosen Colonel in command, and Thomas Lloyd was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel.

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[*] *Further Account*, p. 23.

[†] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

January and February were thus spent in consulting, corresponding, arming men, and fortifying the town. By the end of that time the preparations were complete so far as it was then possible, and all was ready for action.

Sir Gerard Irvine.

Finding that the overtures made on his behalf to the Enniskillen men were rejected, Sir Gerard went to Dublin and was made lieutenant-colonel to the regiment of horse that the Earl of Granard was about to raise in the interest of King James. Being empowered to raise a troop in Fermanagh, he came down to the town of Cavan with such a number of pistols, carbines, swords, and other necessary equipments for the men whom he was about to enlist, that he alarmed the Protestant inhabitants. The fact having become known, Daniel French and Henry Williams set out from Belturbet with sixty horse, captured the arms at Cavan, and sent Sir Gerard himself a prisoner to Lord Blayney. His lordship did not retain him, but sent him on as a prisoner to Enniskillen. He told the Enniskilleners that he never meant to serve King James, and that journey to Dublin was only a scheme to obtain accoutrements for a troop which he meant to raise in the service of the Prince of Orange. If he spoke the truth about himself, he was a traitor great and mean as Lundy. As the fortunes of King James waned, he threw himself heartily into the winning side; and after the siege of

Derry was raised, he collected a troop of horse, with which he joined General Schomberg, and subsequently died, where so many brave men perished, in the camp at Dundalk.*

William and Mary Proclaimed.—*March* 11*th*, 1689.

Early in March the news arrived that the Committee of Estates in England had voted King James's desertion of the kingdom as an abdication, and had acknowledged William and Mary as joint sovereigns. Upon the receipt of this news, the town took immediate action. On the 11th of March, William and Mary were proclaimed at Enniskillen with all joy and solemnity, and the inhabitants pledged their allegiance to the new King and Queen.

Colonel Lundy was then regarded as Commander-in-chief of the Williamite forces in the North-west of Ulster; and, not long after the proclamation, a letter from him was received at Enniskillen, enclosing a copy of Osborne's letter of the 9th of March, addressed to Lord Mount-Alexander, which was in the same terms substantially as that of the same date addressed to Sir Arthur Rawdon and already given.† Accompanying this was a copy of the following letter from the Gentlemen of the North-east, addressed to Lundy, and dated at Loughbrickland, March 9th, 168$\frac{8}{9}$:—

"Sir,—Since our last to you, dated the 6th, we have this day received the enclosed; and Mr. Osborne was here himself and confirms the contents with several circumstances, which persuades us of the truth of it, and therefore we most earnestly entreat you to march up towards Newry, with all possible diligence, with what men you can, and with as much provisions and necessaries as can be carried; and let us know by express, of their march and their numbers,—We remain your humble Servants,

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* *True. and Impartial Account*, p. 8; *Further Account*, p. 58; Leslie's *Answer*, p. 90.

† See p. 61. In the letter to Mount-Alexander, the greater part of the last paragraph is omitted.—*Further Account*, p. 27.

"MOUNT-ALEXANDER,
JAMES HAMILTON.
WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM.
RICHARD JOHNSTON.
MAR. MIDLETON.

"Sir, you are desired to give notice to all friends.
"To the Hon. Colonel Lundy, in Derry.*"

Accompanying these enclosures was a letter from Lundy himself, addressed to the Gentlemen of the County Fermanagh:—

LUNDY TO SIR JOHN HUME AND OTHERS.

"GENTLEMEN,—The enclosed is accompanied with several letters intimating the march of the Irish army northward, to oppose which we are making all the preparations possible, although our scarcity of arms, ammutions, and moneys, render us not so fit as we ought for the undertaking. But we will do what we can, and leave the issue to Divine Providence, which orders all events. On this occasion it is likely that you and all our friends may be alarmed, if not formally attacked, by their forces, were it to keep you from affording us your help, or from giving them diversion in their attempts; wherefore you would do well to be strictly on your guards, and if possible, by espials, to open their counsels and designs; and what you know, pray communicate to your friends in this country and round about you, who, we hope, will observe the like care, and continue a constant correspondence with all friends in these dangerous times. I am resolved to march hence within a day or two, with what force I can raise in this country to Dungannon, and desire you to have all men ready to march that were designed for it, that as soon as I write for them, they may come immediately to the place assigned for our rendezvous.

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* *Further Account*, p. 26.

"I remain, Gentlemen, your faithful Servant,

"ROBERT LUNDY.

"For Sir John Hume, and the rest of the Gentlemen of the County of Fermanagh, these." *

Lundy, however, did not go far in quest of the army of King James now invading the North. Instead of marching to Dungannon as he intimated in his letter, he soon afterwards ordered the garrison there to evacuate Dungannon, and to fall back on the Laggan, the name then given to that district of country which lies between the upper part of the Swilly and the Foyle. The result of deserting this outpost was, that the provisions collected in Dungannon fell into the hands of the enemy, and the country people thus left unprotected were obliged to forsake their homes, and to flee in the direction of Strabane and Derry.

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* *Further Account*, p. 25.

CAVAN IN RETREAT.—*20th March.*

In pursuance of what seems to have been his policy, to collect all the Protestant forces in Ulster to one spot, and then to hand all over in a wholesale surrender to King James, Lundy wrote also to the men of Enniskillen and of Cavan to fall back on Derry. Most fortunately, both for itself and for the cause, Enniskillen determined to keep its ground, and as the people there expected that somewhere they would have to fight for life and liberty, they thought it better to fight at their own doors. They rightly judged that the most efficient help which they could render to Derry was to defend their own town, and thus divide the forces of the enemy. But their astonishment may be imagined, when on the 20th of March, in stormy weather, and when the roads were almost impassable, all the better class of the Protestant population of Cavan, three or four troops of horse, as many companies of foot, and behind them a vast mass of men, women, and children, covered to the middle with mud, poured into Enniskillen, bringing with them no provisions, and filling the streets with the most piteous lamentations. Those among them who acted as officers, said that they were retreating to Derry by orders of Colonel Lundy, and they earnestly urged the Governor of Enniskillen and the people there to follow their example.

It soon became known, that, while they alleged the orders of Lundy as the reason of their going to Derry, the real cause was the presence of Lord Galmoy, at the head of a section of the Jacobite army, in their part of the country. Having been ordered to hover about on the confines of Ulster and Leinster, to prevent communication between the Protestants of the North and of the South, he had suddenly made a descent on Cavan, and had captured Captain Dixie, son of the Dean of Kilmore, Lieutenant Charleton, and eight or ten troopers; whereupon the whole country was so alarmed, that the bulk of the Protestant inhabitants, without any attempt at resistance or even at discovering the numbers of the enemy, deserted their houses and property, and fled in the direction of Derry. This was the true reason that brought into Enniskillen such a vast multitude of men, women, and children, taxing the capacity of the church, the sessionhouse, and the schoolroom, as well as of every private dwelling, in order to find them lodging-room. They remained three days to rest.

Galmoy was meanwhile drawing near, and when he reached Lisnaskea, a village ten miles off, he sent forward a summons calling on Enniskillen to surrender. The Enniskilleners of course meant to fight; it never occurred to them that they could do otherwise; and they used every argument they could think of to induce the Cavan men to stay and assist. But it was in vain; they would, and they did, march on to Derry. Seeing that they were bent upon this, the Governor proclaimed that all the men from Cavan on the way to Derry must take their wives and children with them, else, if left behind, they would be turned immediately out of town. This had a good effect. Some three or four companies of foot, who could not conveniently take their wives and children with them, fortunately for themselves, were obliged to stay; but all the rest, both horse and foot, and even the officers of some of the companies that remained, pushed on to Derry. They would have persuaded the people of Enniskillen to go with them; but the Enniskilleners, to a man, determined to stay and to defend a position which they rightly regarded as the Key of Ulster on the side of Connaught, and which if they were to lose, Derry itself could not be maintained against the accession of strength thus brought to its assailants. They turned away alike from the entreaties of Cavan, the orders of Lundy, and the summons of Galmoy. The latter they answered by sending a letter to say, that they held their town in the interests of King William and Queen Mary, and would defend it to the last.* Their attitude always was, in the words of their gallant Governor: "*We stand upon our guard, and do resolve by the blessing of God rather to meet our danger than expect it.*"

SIEGE OF CROM.—*24th March.*

Meanwhile, Galmoy, taking encouragement from the terror with which his presence seemed to have inspired the whole country, had reached Belturbet, from which he sent a party to besiege Crom, on the east side of Lough Erne, and which was the most remote outpost of the Enniskilleners on the side of Dublin. His lordship had no cannon to enable him to capture any place of strength; but he hoped to make up for his lack of artillery by an invention of his own. He made two cannon of tin, bound them round with whip-cord, covered them with buckram, so as to give them the appearance and colour of real guns, and had them drawn in the direction of Crom with great noise and apparent difficulty by eight horses a-piece. So soon as he had his mock guns planted in position, he threatened to batter down the castle if it was not immediately surrendered. But the little garrison was not so much intimidated as he had expected: their only answer to his threat was a volley of fire-arms. They knew well that if it was at all possible, Enniskillen would send them relief. Nor were they mistaken in their hope. On Saturday, 23rd of March, on the day that the Cavan men left for Derry, Enniskillen drew out all its horse and foot to measure its strength with Galmoy, who had now advanced to Lisnaskea, within ten miles of the town. The enemy did not make his appearance that day; but in the evening the intelligence arrived that Galmoy and his men were engaged in the siege of Crom. Governor Hamilton decided to send relief to the little garrison. Choosing out two hundred of his best armed men, he sent some of them in boats and some by land, in hope that they would reach Crom and get into the castle before daylight; but the day had already dawned before they succeeded in reaching the place of their destination. The besiegers were aware of their arrival, and fired at them; but their aim was so ill-directed that they killed only one of the boatmen, and failed in preventing the relieving party from entering the castle and uniting with the garrison. The united body then sallied out of the fortress, attacked Galmoy and his men with the greatest violence, beat them out of the trenches, killed thirty or forty, captured the two tin guns, and compelled him to raise the siege and to retire to Belturbet.*

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* *Hamilton*, pp. 9-11; *MacCarmick*, pp. 29-31.

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* *Hamilton*, p. 11; *MacCarmick*, p. 31.

GALMOY'S PERFIDY.

While lying at Belturbet, this officer was guilty of an act which proves him to have been alike destitute of the feelings of a man and of the honour of a soldier. There was one Brian Maguire, a captain in the Jacobite army, who was detained a prisoner in the Castle of Crom. Galmoy, desiring to have him released, and not scrupling at the means, proposed to Captain Crichton, the governor of the castle,* to give Captain Dixie in exchange for him; to which exchange, after consulting Governor Hamilton, Crichton consented. Maguire was accordingly set at liberty and sent to Belturbet. But so soon as Galmoy had him in his hands, instead of releasing Dixie as he promised, he called a court-martial to try him and Charleton, found them guilty of levying war against King James, of which the commission of the Prince of Orange, found in their pockets, was the evidence, and had them sentenced to death. Life was offered them on condition that they would turn to be Roman Catholics and submit to King James; but, to their great honour, both refused to purchase life on such ignoble terms. The sentence of the court-martial was carried out. The two gallant young men were hung from a sign-post in Belturbet, and their heads having been kicked about the streets as footballs by the soldiery, were finally fixed upon the market-house. Maguire himself was so much disgusted by this breach of faith on the part of Galmoy, that, with all the spirit of an Irish soldier, he threw up his commission and refused to serve King James any longer.

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* He was ancestor of the present Earl of Erne.

No act during the whole war gave a deeper impression of the unmanly wretches that James delighted to honour, than this act of perfidy and blood. It made the Protestants hate the name of Galmoy. It gave them what they considered undoubted proof that no reliance could be placed on the honour of his officers or on himself. To surrender on the word of such men would be, as they believed, to incur the fate of Dixie. It made them resolve to fight it out to the bitter end. Multitudes of promises ever after, with them weighed for little against that one act of treachery. Moreover, it added cruelty to the conflict. There can be no doubt that many a brave man was afterwards slain without mercy, who would have received quarter had it not been for that cowardly and shameless deed; and bad as it was, even it does not seem to have been the most atrocious that was perpetrated by Galmoy and by his men.*

LUNDY'S AID AND COUNSEL.

If Enniskillen was able to hold its ground against King James, it did not owe much to the aid and counsel of Lundy. On the 25th of March the news came that Captain James Hamilton, as already stated, had arrived at Derry with a large supply of arms and ammunition. A message was sent off immediately to procure a portion of the supply for the use of the garrison of Enniskillen; but all that Lundy would consent to give was five barrels of powder and sixty old musket barrels, without stock or lock, which were thrown as lumber into the magazine of Derry. These musket-barrels the Enniskillen people fixed up in a rude but serviceable fashion, and this was their only supply of arms and ammunition, except what they took from the enemy, up till the time that Major-General Kirke relieved them.

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* *MacCarmick*, p. 32; *Hamilton*, p. 12; *Ireland's Lament.*, p. 32; *True and Impartial Account*, p. 7; *Harris*, p. 215; *Narrative of Murders*, p. 25.

The evil counsel which had proved so fatal to Dungannon and Sligo, was also given to them, but not with the same results. Lundy invited the Enniskilleners to desert their town and to retreat to Derry. He sent them a copy of the resolution of the council of war, inviting all the forces to meet at Clady on the 15th of April to help him to maintain the fords of the Finn. He urged them to give up an untenable post and come to Derry, for no other object, as events proved, than to tell them, when there, that Derry was untenable too. Fortunately, they acted on their own judgment rather than on his. Professional soldiers would have been bound to obey their superior officer, but men who had armed purely in defence of their life and property did not consider themselves under obligation to submit to the orders of Colonel Lundy any farther than they thought right. They determined to keep by their own town, and felt strengthened in their determination, when afterwards they became aware of the cruel deception which he practised on Lord Kingston and the garrison of Sligo. Even that, however, turned out for the good of Enniskillen. Before sailing for England, his lordship sent thither those of his forces who were not required to occupy Ballyshannon and Donegal. The two troops of horse and the six companies of foot thus acquired, added very much to the strength of the garrison of Enniskillen. Their resolution to stay and to defend their own town was also confirmed by the receipt of the following letter, sent by some unknown writer from Derry, who seems to have had a tolerably correct notion of the posture of affairs. It was addressed to Lieutenant MacCarmick:—

"Dear Sir,—We know that there are some expresses gone from hence last night and this day that give an account of the ill success that attends our forces, and that it is to be feared it will be hard for any to escape from Coleraine hither. It is likewise believed by most that advice is sent to Enniskillen to desert that place and retire to Derry, which will tend to the ruin of all the Protestant interest in Ulster, and for aught we know, in the whole kingdom. There are many well-wishers to your town and interest that believe it were better to stay there than to retire. It is a nice point to advise a friend therein. What is to be done, must be with expedition, either to come away immediately, or resolve to defend that place. Take speedy counsel, and God of His infinite mercy direct you, that you may escape the cruelty of your enemies. This place will be so thronged that the walls will not contain the people.—Sir, I am yours."

The Enniskillen men wisely resolved to stay by their own town, and bound themselves, Governor, officers, and men, to discharge their duties to each other, and to defend the Protestant religion and interest with their life and fortune.*

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* MacCarmick's *Further Account*, pp. 33-38. Hamilton's *Account*, pp. 13-17. For a copy of oath taken by the private men, see App. No 17.

TRILLIC AND AUGHER.—*24th and 28th April.*

Thus reinforced by a portion of Lord Kingston's men, the Enniskilleners now felt not only strong enough to protect themselves, but able to make incursions into the surrounding country. Having heard that the Jacobites were about to plant a garrison at Trillic, nine miles from the town on the Derry road, Colonel Lloyd, who in every sense deserves to be regarded as the Murray of Enniskillen, on the 24th of April, led out a party to dislodge them. His approach was discovered so early, that the enemy had time to escape before he came up; a hot pursuit of six hours dispersed them over the country without enabling Lloyd and his men to overtake them, but they brought back with them both the enemy's baggage, and a large quantity of cattle and provisions, which were taken from the surrounding neighbourhood.

Some days afterwards, hearing that the enemy were about to plant a garrison in the castle of Augher, which lay eighteen miles from Enniskillen on the road to Charlemont, Colonel Lloyd and his men marched in the hope of being able to surprise them on the morning of Sabbath the 28th of April; but, notwithstanding the rapidity of their march, the garrison had notice of their approach, and fled, taking with them all that they could carry. The Enniskilleners had to content themselves with burning the castle, levelling the fortifications, and seizing as many cattle as the neighbourhood could supply. They then passed through the mountains, with the view of expelling the garrison that the enemy had placed in the house of Daniel Eccles, Esq., of Clones; but that garrison also had notice of their approach, and of course set fire to the building, and took to flight before they came forward. Having swept across a large part of the counties of Monaghan and Cavan, they returned home on Thursday, 2nd of May, bringing with them horses, sheep, cattle, and provisions, in great abundance. The plan adopted at Enniskillen from the first, and acted on to the last, was to go out and fight every enemy before he came near the town. The result was, that throughout the whole campaign a foe could scarcely come within sight of the place, and that, while Derry was living on starch and tallow, Enniskillen never knew what it was to want. Often during the war a good milch cow could be bought on the streets of Enniskillen for eighteenpence, and a cow not giving milk for sixpence.[*]

BREAK OF BELLEEK.—*Wednesday, 8th May.*

Lloyd and his men were only two days at home, when a message came from Captain Folliot, who commanded the Protestant garrison at Ballyshannon—a town twenty miles down from Enniskillen, near where the Erne falls into the sea—to say that he was besieged by the Connaught Jacobites, and to ask for help. Despatches were immediately sent to all the outposts round about, to send in immediately as many men as they could spare ; and on the 6th, Lloyd, at the head of a considerable party of horse and foot, started for the relief of Ballyshannon. When warned of his approach, most of the enemy drew off from the siege, and advanced to meet him at Belleek, three miles from Ballyshannon, where they drew up in a very favourable position, in a narrow pass flanked by the Lough on the one side and a great bog on the other. On this pass the Jacobites erected a barricade, and in front of the barricade there was a bridge, which they broke down, to make it the more difficult for the Enniskilleners to come near them. Behind the barricade they drew up their forces, and as Lloyd and his men drew near they raised a wild huzza, inviting the Enniskilleners to come on and to fight them. Lloyd had provided his men with bundles of faggots to throw into the morass, in order to make it passable ; but, before the time had come to make use of this expedient, a man was found who offered to lead them by a path to the right, of which they had not been previously aware, and by which they could pass the morass without being under the necessity to alight from their horses. There was no treachery ; the man kept his word. When the enemy saw that they were about to be flanked, they made a movement to prevent it. In order to intercept them, the Enniskilleners redoubled their speed. The enemy then, both horse and foot, broke their ranks, and fled, without firing a shot ; and what in the morning promised to be a battle was turned during the day into a disastrous flight, ended only by the advance of evening. Not less than one hundred and ninety of the horse were slain in the pursuit, but most of the foot escaping through a bog, made good their retreat to Sligo. The Enniskilleners pushed forward, and took sixty of their men prisoners on the Fish Island at Ballyshannon. The siege was thus raised, but the plunder of the enemy's camp scarcely repaid them for their trouble, consisting only as it did of several horses, two light cannon, and a small quantity of ammunition and arms. The victory, however, cost little. The Enniskilleners had but one man wounded in the encounter, and he subsequently recovered.*

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[*] *Hamilton*, p. 17; *MacCarmick*, pp. 37-39.

THE FORT AT ENNISKILLEN.—*May.*

The protection of the town was entrusted to the Governor and a Council, consisting of the leading officers and Mr. Kelso, the Presbyterian minister. They took measures to have the town watched and guarded, to have provisions stored, to have all boats on the Lake brought to Enniskillen so as to prevent surprise by water, to keep the cannon and firearms fit for service, to send out a horse guard every night to scour the country, so as to prevent any sudden attack, and to do everything that was necessary for fortifying the town. To do this more effectually, a fort was constructed at the east end, under the superintendence of Major Hart and Major Rider. This work was not completed till June ; and when completed, it was joined to the east bridge by a line of communication, and it commanded not only the town, but the roads leading to it on the eastern side.†

RAID INTO CAVAN AND MEATH—*End of May.*

Towards the end of May, the Enniskilleners organized another expedition for the purpose of checking the Jacobites, who had planted garrisons at Redhill and Ballinacarrig, in County Cavan. Colonel Lloyd set out with 1,500 foot and horse, and at Crom he was joined by all that could be spared from that little garrison. The report of their advance travelled before them, and the fears of the country people magnified the numbers of the party from hundreds to thousands. At Wattle-bridge they came in sight of the enemy. The bridge was broken down; but when Lloyd and his men took the ford, the Jacobites did not dispute the passage, and immediately retired. As they retreated they left a garrison in Redhill House, the seat of Francis White, Esq., who himself was then in England; but when the Enniskillen men approached, the garrison surrendered at the first summons, so that nothing was taken from them but their arms. Next morning they invested Ballinacarrig Castle. The garrison there also surrendered on condition that they and the prisoners taken at Redhill should both be set at liberty. The terms were accepted, and the result was that the castle, with its arms and ammunition, and a rich store of provisions, fell into their hands, without their being obliged to strike a blow. Having gutted the castle, they undermined the wall, set the building on fire, and levelled it to the ground, not thinking it wise to plant a new garrison at so great a distance from their centre, nor to spare a place of so great strength in the heart of the enemy's country. Having scoured the country on to Kells in County Meath, within thirty miles of Dublin, and having struck terror to the Metropolis itself, where their strength was believed to be much greater than it really was, they returned to Enniskillen without the loss of a single man, bringing back with them about 3,000 cows and oxen, 2,000 sheep, and 500 horses, laden with meal, wheat, and malt. It was the testimony of one of their enemies, that "they were the fairest enemy that ever came into a country, not injuring any person that lived peaceably, leaving a troop of horse in the town of Cavan, until all the army were marched away, to see that no injury might be done to the common people." *

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* *MacCarmick*, pp. 40-41; *Hamilton*, p. 19.

† *MacCarmick*, p. 42.

Why not attack the Capital? A bold attack on Dublin, when most of the army were engaged at Derry, might have been successful; but for the Enniskilleners to attempt it then would have been a fatal mistake, seeing that they had no large guns, that their supply of any kind of arms and ammunition was very scanty, and that, at the very time when they were absent on this raid, Sarsfield, at the head of several thousand men, was lying in the deer park of Sir William Gore, near Manorhamilton, about sixteen or seventeen miles from Enniskillen. Their raid was not, however, without results. General Rosen was instantly despatched to the North, at the head of a force designed originally for an attack on Enniskillen, but which was diverted towards Derry in consequence of the news reaching Dublin that Kirke with his fleet had appeared in Lough Foyle, and that the garrison of Derry had defeated Hamilton in the battle at the Windmill Hill. †

VISIT TO OMAGH.—*Monday, 3rd June.*

At Trillic, on the road to Omagh, two troops of Enniskillen horse, under Captain Francis Gore and Captain Arnold Cosbie, were quartered in a house belonging to Captain Mervin. On the 3rd of June, intelligence reached this little garrison that dragoon horses belonging to the Jacobite garrison of Omagh were usually sent out to graze on the waste lands adjoining the town, and were very slackly guarded. They resolved to act upon the information. Taking with them two foot companies, under Captain Henry Smith and Captain Robert Corry, which quartered at Newport, four miles off, they left Trillic at sunset, marched to Omagh, and brought away with them about 160 troop-horses and about as many cows. This they regarded as rather a lucky hit, as at one stroke they disabled three troops of the enemy, and mounted three troops of their own much better than before. The country Irish, as usual, sent forward news that the Enniskilleners were coming, so that the garrison had time to save the town, but not their horses, from being captured.*

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* *A True Account*, p. 9; *Hamilton*, pp. 21 and 22; *MacCarmick*, pp. 42-43.

† *Avaux to Louis*, June $\frac{28}{18}$, 1689.

FAILURE TO RELIEVE DERRY.—*June.*

Soon afterwards the news came that the siege of Derry was turned into a blockade, and that the city was in great straits for want of provisions. Governor Hamilton, knowing that if Derry fell he could not hold out against the full force of King James's army, which would then be directed against Enniskillen, determined to make an effort to raise the siege, or, failing that, to throw supplies into the town. Leaving Lloyd in charge of Enniskillen during his absence, he himself, at the head of all the men who could be spared, marched to Omagh. It was the wish of the men that Lloyd, under whom they were always successful, should be their leader on this occasion, but the governor was resolute that he himself should command in person. As he approached Omagh, the enemy retreated into the town, burning all the houses which lay along or near the road, and fortified themselves in the house of Captain Mervin, at the end of the town, where they prepared for a regular siege. The Enniskilleners took possession of the gardens, ditches, and wallsteads which surrounded the house, and sent to the garrison a summons to surrender. This the garrison refused. But before anything could be done to storm the fortifications, it was ascertained from five prisoners taken at night on the Dungannon road, that Lord Clancarty, at the head of two regiments of foot and one of dragoons, was on his way to reinforce the Jacobite army at Derry, and would be in Omagh in the course of a few hours.

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* *MacCarmick* p. 44. *Hamilton*, p. 22.

A council of war was forthwith held to consider what under the circumstances ought to be done. It was now ascertained that they had brought no provisions with them, either for the relief of Derry or even for themselves, and that they must depend on whatever supplies could be obtained from the waste and depopulated country on their way: it was also considered that, with Clancarty coming up behind, it would be foolhardy for them to throw themselves in front of the whole Jacobite army encamped around Derry, and that, so soon as their absence from their own town was reported to Sarsfield at Manorhamilton, he would seize the opportunity to attack Enniskillen.* But this was not all; their whole force amounted to only 1,500 men, they had only two cannon, their firelocks were of the worst description, and they had but two barrels of powder among them all. In such circumstances it would have been madness to persevere in their original design; which was to march down the eastern bank of the Foyle, to fall on the detachment at the Waterside, which was separated from the main body of the besiegers by the river, and, having conveyed provisions into the city, to make good their retreat homewards, through the Monterloney mountains. Had Colonel Lloyd been at their head, they probably would have measured their strength with Clancarty, who was then approaching from Dungannon, but they did what in their circumstances was perhaps the wisest thing they could have done; they returned immediately home. Out of respect to the proprietor, Captain Mervin, they did not burn Omagh; but they might as well have done so, for it was burned a few weeks afterwards by the Jacobite army on its retreat from Derry.*

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* Why he never attempted Enniskillen it is not difficult for us to understand. Though it was then believed that his forces were more numerous, it is now known that Sarsfield had only two thousand men, whom he had himself collected in Connaught, and at whose head he held that whole province for the king. But with such raw, ill-armed recruits, it would have been foolish in him to attempt more than to act on the defensive.

BATTLE OF BELTURBET.—*Wednesday, 19th June.*

They were scarcely home till, on the 16th June, news was sent them by Colonel Crichton of Crom, and Captain Wishart who commanded at one of their outposts, that a strong party of the enemy, which, as it appeared, was under command of Brigadier Sutherland, had advanced as far as Belturbet, and was hourly increasing in number. He was at the head of two regiments of foot and a regiment of dragoons, and was provided with a great store of ammunition and of provisions, sufficient, it was supposed, to enable him to besiege and to take

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* *Hamilton,* pp. 23-25; *MacCarmick,* pp. 45-47.

Enniskillen. That very night Colonel Lloyd, with all the men that could be spared, marched out against him, and on the next day reached Maguiresbridge. Notice was soon given to Sutherland that the Enniskilleners were on their way to meet him to the number of 15,000 men—rumour as usual magnifying their strength to ten times more than the reality. Sutherland immediately retreated with the main body of his forces into Monaghan, leaving Colonel Scot with eighty dragoons and two hundred foot to hold the church and the churchyard,—the only place of strength in the village. Tuesday proved to be a day of incessant rain, so that all military operations were for the time suspended; but a council of war was held by the Enniskilleners, and, as it was in vain to think of overtaking Sutherland, it was resolved to attack the party in Belturbet. Next day, Wednesday the 19th of June, they marched forward, and when within two miles of the town, the dragoons of both parties came in sight of each other. After an exchange of shots, the horse of the enemy were driven back and pursued into Belturbet, and the Enniskillen horse surrounding the church and churchyard kept them there, till the foot came forward and secured possession of the adjoining buildings. Having taken up their position in the houses overtopping the churchyard, they so galled the garrison with their shot that at the end of two hours it consented to surrender. The conditions were that all the prisoners should have their lives, and that the officers, in addition, should be allowed to retain their clothes and money. The result was that nearly three hundred prisoners and a great booty fell to the victors, consisting of two barrels of powder, seven hundred muskets, fifty-three dragoon horses, and as many red coats as served for two companies. In addition, a great quantity of provisions amounting to twenty tons of bread, flour, wheat, and malt, was sent to Enniskillen by water. Thirteen commissioned officers were detained as prisoners, but the two hundred common soldiers were taken to Enniskillen, and were employed in erecting the fort, which was then approaching completion.*

Of the Enniskillen dragoons, who took such a prominent part in the defence of the town, we have the following description from a contemporary who saw them at Loughbrickland, little more than two months after the battle at Belturbet :—

"I wondered much to see their horses and equipage, hearing before what feats had been done by them. They were three regiments in all, and most of the troopers and dragoons had their waiting men, mounted on *garrons* (these are small Irish horses, but very hardy); some of them had holsters, and others their pistols hung at their swordbelts. They showed me the enemy's scouts upon a hill before us; I wished them to go and beat them off, and they answered, 'With all their hearts, but they had orders to go no farther than where they saw the enemy's scouts,' though they seemed dissatisfied with it, and added, 'they should never thrive so long as they were under orders.'" †

NEWS FROM THE FLEET.—*Wednesday, 3rd July.*

On the 3rd of July, a letter was received at Enniskillen from Mr. Brown, chaplain of the *Bonadventure* frigate lying at Killybegs, stating that Major-General Kirke, then in Lough Swilly, had sent round the *Bonadventure* to inquire into the condition of Enniskillen, and to supply the garrison so far as it might be in his power. This news, as might be expected, was received with great joy. In the town that night bonfires were burned, volleys fired, and healths drunk to King William and Queen Mary. Colonel Lloyd himself went down to the coast to give Captain Hobson a true account of how matters stood, and, after a kindly reception by the English officer, returned with a promise of thirty barrels of powder, and with the assurance that they would soon receive from England much more effectual assistance. The powder was peculiarly acceptable: nothing else was so scarce at Enniskillen, and the action of the garrison was in every way hampered by the want of it. It was also agreed that Mr. John Rider and Rev. Andrew Hamilton, Rector of Kilskerry, should be sent to Kirke, asking for commissions to be given to their leaders, for some experienced English officer to take the command of the Enniskillen troops, and for a farther supply of arms and ammunition. This deputation went aboard on the 8th of July, and on the 12th joined Kirke, then lying inactive in Lough Swilly.*

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* *Hamilton*, pp. 25-27; *MacCarmick,* pp. 48-50.

† Story's *Impartial History*, p. 12.

DUKE OF BERWICK.—*Saturday, 13th July.*

For the last five or six weeks that King James's army lay before Derry, the Duke of Berwick † was detached from the main body, and, to prevent such visits as the Enniskilleners had lately made to Omagh, moved about, at the head of a flying division, in that wide district lying between Dungannon and Ramullan, often appearing at places where he was least expected. Passing from the valley of the Finn over the Gap of Barnes-more, he dropped down upon the town of Donegal, where a small garrison of Lord Kingston's men was stationed, and burned the town, but did not succeed in capturing the castle. Retiring from the place, he formed a junction with Brigadier Sutherland, after the latter had withdrawn from Belturbet, and then advancing towards Enniskillen on the side of Trillic, he burned the house of Mr. Hamilton of Kilskerry during his absence on his mission to the fleet. At Trillic he encamped for a few days, but on the 13th he advanced towards the town. At the time, Colonel Lloyd was away on his visit to the *Bonadventure* and had not yet returned—a fact of disastrous issue to the garrison. Governor Hamilton ordered two troops of horse, under Captain Hugh Montgomery and Captain Francis King, in company with a small party consisting of about a hundred foot, led by Lieutenant MacCarmick, to advance as far as the top of Kilmacarmick Hill, and there to engage the enemy, promising faithfully to send forward immediately reinforcements to their support. Through some misunderstanding or mishap, the promised reinforcements did not come up in time. The dragoons of the enemy dashed forward at

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* *Hamilton*, p. 28; *MacCarmick*, p. 50.

† He was natural son of King James by Arabella Churchill, sister of the celebrated Duke of Marlborough. "He was," says Burnet, "a soft and harmless young man, and was much beloved by the King."—

History of His Own Times, vol. iii., p. 1280. Avaux, who had better means of knowing him, says, "he was a sorry officer, and was wanting in common sense" ("un aussy mechant officier . . et qu'il n'a pas le sens commun").—*Avaux to Louvois*, $\frac{26}{16}$ Oct., 1689.

full speed, but were so hotly received by the small party of foot under MacCarmick, that, notwithstanding their overpowering numbers, they began to retreat. The Enniskillen horse, however, instead of protecting the foot, fled from the ground without firing a shot, leaving MacCarmick and his men to their fate. This movement did not escape the keen eye of Colonel Lutterel, in command of the enemy's horse, who shouted aloud,—"They run, they run: they are fled." The dragoons of the enemy then wheeled about, surrounded the little party under command of MacCarmick, slew the most of them, and made the others prisoners.

An instance of bravery and determination occurred in this action, which we prefer to give in the words of one of our authorities:—

"John Wilson, a foot soldier, in this general slaughter of his companions, stood the shock of several of the troopers, who, all together, were hewing at him. Some he stabbed with his bayonet, others he knocked down with his musket, and when his arms dropped from his hands he leaped up at them, tore down some, and threw them under their horses' feet. At length, oppressed with twelve desperate wounds, one of which was quite across his face, so that his nose and cheeks hung over his chin, he sunk down in a shrubby bush. While he was bleeding in this condition, a sergeant darted his halbert at him with such fury that he struck it through his thigh and could not draw it out again. Wilson, roused as from death, made his last effort, tore the halbert out of his thigh, and collecting his whole strength, darted it through the heart of his enemy. By the assistance of the halbert he dragged his mangled limbs to Enniskillen, where he was wonderfully cured, and lived thirty years after."*

In this bloody conflict fifty of the Enniskilleners were slain, and upwards of twenty made prisoners. It was the first reverse that had befallen the gallant little town. The true cause of the disaster was the arrangement which had sent off their best officer, Colonel Lloyd, to the *Bonadventure* on an errand which any other officer could have done as well, and which left the garrison in sole charge of the Governor, who, though gallant and well intentioned, was a much less capable man.

The Duke of Berwick, being a gentleman as well as an officer, treated his prisoners kindly, and gave orders that no man, on pain of death, should rob them of their property. For some reason or other, perhaps because he had no weighty guns, and because he knew that the town was protected by the cannon of the fort, he did not attack Enniskillen. He withdrew his troops immediately after the action, as if content with the advantage he had gained, and scoured the country from Omagh to Ramullan, up till the time that the siege of Derry was raised.†

VISIT TO KIRKE.—12*th to* 21*st July.*

Meanwhile the Commissioners from Enniskillen had reached Major-General Kirke, where he lay in Lough Foyle, and had given him full details of the state of their town. He supplied them with arms, six hundred firelocks for dragoons, a thousand muskets for footmen, twenty additional barrels of powder, and eight small cannon; and he gave them commissions for two regiments of horse and three of foot. He could spare no private men, but sent them seven or eight of his best officers, under charge of Colonel Wolseley—a younger son of Sir Robert Wolseley in Staffordshire, and a man who, according to Macaulay,* had already shown his zeal for Protestantism in the North of England by having the Mayor of Scarborough tossed in a blanket for making a speech in favour of King James—and authorised him to act as Commander-in-Chief. It is only fair to add, on behalf of a man in regard to whom we have very little good to say, that the Enniskillen Commissioners testified on behalf of Kirke, that, "no man could have shown more zeal than he did for their Majesties' service, and the preservation of the Protestants." Nevertheless, we cannot help asking, if he was so very zealous, why was it, that, at a time when every moment was important, he detained the Enniskillen deputation for nine days without giving them the supplies which he gave them at the last?

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* Harris' *Life of William III.*, bk. viii., p. 222.

† *MacCarmick*, pp. 51-58. *Hamilton*, pp. 29-30. There are some discrepancies in the two accounts, but I prefer MacCarmick's ; *first*, because he commanded in the action, and Hamilton was then absent at the fleet; and, *second*, because I find it confirmed by an independent narrative referred to by *Harris* (see *note*, p. 221).

While the Commissioners were in attendance upon Kirke, he had sailed from Lough Foyle round the peninsula of Ennishowen, and had reached the island of Inch, in Lough Swilly. On Sabbath, the 21st, they finally parted. Kirke returned to Lough Foyle in the *Swallow* frigate, accompanied by the *Mountjoy* of Derry and another vessel, probably the *Phœnix*, laden with provisions. But the wind proved unfavourable for the vessel bound to Ballyshannon, and the officers going to Enniskillen were driven back by contrary winds, and obliged to stay at Inch for two days longer. On Wednesday, the 24th, they set sail again, and reached Ballyshannon on Friday, to the great delight of several troops of Enniskillen men, who were there with great impatience awaiting their arrival. Next day, the officers went on to Belleek, and on Sabbath, the 28th, they went from Belleek by water to Enniskillen, making all possible haste; for the tidings had reached them that Lieutenant General Macarthy, whom King James had made, in place of Mountjoy, Grand Master of the Irish artillery, and had recently honoured with the title of Lord Mountcashel, had advanced as far as Belturbet on his way to besiege Enniskillen.* As the English officers stepped from the boat which brought them up Lough Erne, the whole garrison of Enniskillen turned out as a guard and met them at the landing-place; men, women, and children crowded around them, so that they could with difficulty move along the street, and welcomed them with loud acclamations; and all gave expression to their satisfaction that England had remembered them at last. Had they only known that, on the very day they were rejoicing over the arrival of the English officers, the *Mountjoy* was attacking the boom, and that, as the sun of that day was setting,

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* *History*, vol. ii., ch. xii., p. 358.

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* Avaux had a higher opinion of Macarthy than of any of the Irish officers, and was most anxious to have him appointed to command the Irish regiments, which James was sending out of Ireland to replace the troops that Louis was sending to him from France.—*Letter to Louvois*, $\frac{\text{6 Dec.}}{\text{26 Nov.}}$, 1689.

Derry was relieved and their friends victorious, it would have redoubled their joy.*

LISNASKEA.— *Wednesday, 31st July.*

The English officers did not arrive a moment too soon. The very night of their arrival, an express came from Colonel Crichton, at Crom, to say that General Macarthy had marched his men from Belturbet, and was battering the castle with cannon, and that he and his people had no means of responding except by the discharge of small shot from the walls. Next day another message came, beseeching them to send instant relief. The Governor was at the time ill of fever; but Colonel Wolseley, who now took the chief command, sent to say that he would gather his forces together, and attempt to relieve them on Wednesday. He immediately sent to Ballyshannon for as many men as could be spared; and, considering that Sarsfield lay at only four or five miles' distance along the seacoast towards Sligo, it was venturous in the little garrison to send forward several troops of horse and four or five hundred men. After a twenty miles' march, they reached Enniskillen on Tuesday evening, and, instead of being fatigued, they declared themselves willing to go out that very night and meet the enemy.

On Monday evening intelligence had come to town that Macarthy intended to station a garrison in the castle of Lisnaskea, ten miles from Enniskillen. To counteract this movement, Lieutenant-Colonel Berry was sent with seven or eight troops of horse, three foot companies, and two troops of dragoons, with orders from Wolseley, to occupy the castle of Lisnaskea, and, if he found it tenable, to garrison it ; but, if not, to destroy it rather than let it be useful to the enemy. He was also instructed to discover their strength, and to ascertain how they were posted, and he was assured that the main body of the army would soon follow to his relief.

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* *Hamilton*, pp. 31-33; *MacCarmick*, p. 59.

When Berry reached Lisnaskea he found the castle so much out of order, and a place altogether of so little importance, that he neither occupied nor burned it, but encamped all night in the open fields. Next day being Wednesday, he marched his men from Lisnaskea towards the enemy, who had meanwhile raised the siege of Crom, and were now lying at some six miles' distance.* Scouts were sent in advance, with orders to retreat should they meet the enemy, and if possible to discover their numbers. They had not marched more than two miles, until, at a place called Donagh, the scouts gave warning that Macarthy's men were in sight. Berry immediately retired in the direction of Lisnaskea, but before he reached it, he obtained from a rising ground a full view of the opposite force, and found that its numbers were very nearly double those of his own. He sent off an express immediately to acquaint Colonel Wolseley with the position of affairs, and he himself slowly fell back to some post where he could await their attack with more advantage to himself. Seeing him retire, the enemy pressed forward with greater speed, but Berry so covered the foot with a party of horse, that they failed in their endeavour to turn his retreat into a flight.

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* In the attack of Crom, says Avaux, Mountcashel had "lost fifteen or twenty men, and had about sixty wounded, among whom were his lieut.-colonel and several other officers of his regiment."—*To Louvois*, $\frac{14}{4}$ Aug., 1689.

There were then two roads leading from Lisnaskea to Enniskillen. The new road lay nearer to Lough Erne than the old; it was made through bogs and fenny ground, and had several passes upon it which could be defended with ease. The new road turned from the old near the town; and this is the road that was taken by Berry, marching his men in good order, but with the enemy still advancing upon him. About a mile from the town, the road ran through a bog, and was at that part so narrow that two horsemen could scarcely ride over it abreast; and at the remote end of this narrow pass Berry halted, determined to keep his ground till relief would reach him from Enniskillen. In a thicket of bushes on the enemy's flank, and on the opposite side of the river which skirted the bog, he planted an ambush of eighteen or twenty men, with directions not to fire till the critical moment. Among the brushwood at the end of the causeway next to Enniskillen, he stationed his foot and dragoons, with instructions to keep their ground at all hazards; while at some little distance he planted the horse, with orders to act as a reserve, and, if necessary, to relieve the foot and dragoons.

He had scarcely time thus to dispose of his forces, when the officer in command of the opposing party—Colonel Anthony Hamilton—"the most brilliant and accomplished," says Macaulay, "of all who bore the name of Hamilton"—arrived with his men at the end of the causeway next to Lisnaskea. When he observed that Berry and his men were drawn up at the other end, he determined to force his way across. Alighting from his horse, he ordered his soldiers to do the same, and advanced with courage upon the narrow path, that was only a gun-shot in length. The two parties began immediately to fire at each other across the bog; the result of which was, that, as the Jacobites were but poor marksmen, the Enniskilleners had the advantage, and, with no great loss to themselves, shot several of the enemy. Colonel Hamilton was wounded in the leg; the officer second in command, who stepped forward to take his place, was shot dead; and, amid the confusion that this event produced, the little party in ambush opened fire on the flank. The dragoons were then ordered to retire from the causeway beyond musket-range; but the moment that they turned their backs they fled in good earnest. The Enniskilleners no sooner observed this movement, than they gave a huzza, and shouted out, "The rogues are running." Instantly the Enniskillen horse dashed over the causeway in Indian file, and converted their retreat into a disorderly flight. They charged in among the foot, hacking and hewing in all directions, and chasing the fugitives through the town of Lisnaskea, and for a mile beyond it. The pursuit only ended when Berry was informed that Macarthy was advancing with the main body, whereupon he sounded a retreat, and brought back his men to the spot where the battle first began. In this encounter they slew two hundred men and took thirty prisoners. This occurred about nine o'clock in the morning.*

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* *MacCarmick*, pp. 60, 61; *Hamilton*, pp. 34—38.

NEWTONBUTLER—*Same day, 31st July.*

By eleven o'clock, Wolseley sent to say that he had come to Berry's relief. He had taken the old road to Lisnaskea, and the two officers met at the moat above the town with mutual congratulations. Wolseley and his men had come with such haste to relieve their friends that they had brought no provisions with them, and to them it was a necessity either to engage the enemy without loss of time or to return immediately to Enniskillen. On the suggestion of the officers, it was agreed that the men themselves should be consulted. They were called together, and the question was put—Advance and fight, or retreat to Enniskillen? The men and the officers agreed unanimously to advance and fight. The battle-word was given—NO POPERY; than which none could be more acceptable to Enniskillen men. From every troop four men were taken, and, with an officer at their head, were sent forward in advance to prevent a surprise. The main body followed after, consisting of sixteen troops of horse, three of dragoons, and twenty-one companies of foot, making in all something over 2,000 men. There was not a very great disproportion between them and the body which they were about to encounter. Macarthy, ten days before, had left Dublin at the head of 3,600 men.*

Meanwhile, the Jacobite general had reached Newtonbutler on his way to meet the Enniskilleners. Half-a-mile beyond Donagh the advance parties of the two armies came in sight of each other. The Jacobite party retired, and the Williamites went forward. Within half-a-mile of Newtonbutler there is a hill, and at the base of the hill, on the Lisnaskea side, there was a bog over which the narrow road ran, like a causeway made across a swamp. On the hill overlooking this pass, a party of Macarthy's men were stationed, in a position so advantageous that, if disposed, they could have disputed the passage with some prospect of success. The Enniskillen men saw at a glance the disadvantage of position at which they themselves were placed, but did not hesitate a moment as to the course they were to take. By order of Wolseley, Colonel Tiffin, with his foot, took the bog on the right; Lloyd, with his foot, took the bog on the left; and Berry, at the head of the horse, advanced in the centre along the causeway. Wolseley, with the main body, brought up the rear, prepared to send relief to any quarter where relief might most be needed. Before they came within range, the Jacobites opened upon them a fire of small arms; but their opponents, without breaking their ranks, marched steadily through the bog, and they had not fired more than two or three volleys till they saw the enemy begin to retreat. On observing this, their impulse, as might be expected from non-professional soldiers, was to break from their ranks, and start in full pursuit—an act which on their part would have forfeited the honours of the day. Their officers, however, held them in with a tight rein, because the enemy retired in such good order, that it was feared the design was to draw them into an ambuscade. Guided by their officers, they advanced in as good order as the enemy retreated. As the Jacobites retired, they set fire to the town of Newtonbutler, and the country houses which lay around it.

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* Memoirs of King James II., in ***Excidium Macariæ***, Note 94, p. 310.

In this way the one party withdrew and the other went forward, until both had passed through the town of Newtonbutler, and had gone nearly a mile beyond it. Here they reached another bog nearly a mile in extent, through which the narrow road passed as before, and on the rising ground at the remote end of this causeway the main body of the enemy was drawn up in order of battle. The horse were planted on the hill; the foot, a little farther down, were posted mostly under cover; and the cannon were planted in such a position that they could command the causeway, and sweep along its whole length.

The Enniskilleners advanced against them in the same order as before; the foot took the bog and the horsemen kept the road. The cannon of the enemy, however, played so incessantly, that the Enniskillen horse could not advance a single step along the hazardous pathway. As the foot made their way across the bog, the enemy, from behind their cover, fired briskly at them; but still they went on steadily until they had gained firm ground, and dashing forward with force, they beat them out of their shelter, seized their cannon, killed the gunners, and commenced deliberately to ascend the hill. No sooner were the cannon silenced than the Enniskillen horse dashed over the causeway at full speed to take their part in the conflict. When the enemy's horse, from the top of the hill, saw that the bog had been crossed and the guns captured, they wheeled about and galloped off in the direction of Wattle-bridge; leaving their foot to shift for themselves.

The foot kept their ground until they saw that their own horse were fled, and that the Enniskillen horse were upon them; then they too broke and fled. They "fled in such terror," says Avaux, "that they threw away their muskets, pistols, and swords, and when most of them had burst their horses they cast away their garments that they might go more quickly on foot."

Avaux records the case of St. Martin, a French officer of distinction, who lost his life on this occasion. He was engaged in discharging a cannon, when he was wounded in the belly by a musket-ball. A brother officer lent him a horse, on which he fled along with the cavalry. He had hoped to stop at Cavan, but seeing that all the others fled farther on, he continued his flight. After riding fourteen miles he fell, exhausted, from his horse. He was then raised again to the saddle and put in charge of a horseman, but after riding two miles farther his bowels were protruding from the wound, and he fell from the horse stiff dead.*

It seems strange that the Jacobite horse fled, not only without an effort to retrieve the fortune of the day, but even without taking any part whatever in the engagement. Within a few weeks after it had occurred, one of the most trustworthy historians of the time—a chaplain in King William's army—was informed that the whole affair was caused by an officer mistaking the word of command. It seems that when the Enniskilleners charged very briskly the right wing of the enemy, Macarthy ordered some of the men to face to the right and march to the support of their friends. The officer who received the general's orders, in the confusion of the moment mistook their import, ordered the men, not to face to the right, but *to face right-about and march.* When the men on the hill saw their own soldiers turned with their faces to them, they concluded they were retreating, and galloped off immediately. Those in front of the Enniskilleners, seeing that they were deserted by their own party, then flung down their arms and scampered away.*

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* *Avaux to Seignelay*, $\frac{19}{9}$ Aug., 1689.

Had the fugitives taken to the open country on the left hand and broken up into small parties, most of them would have eventually escaped; but, being strangers, it so happened that nearly all took to the right through a great bog, in the direction of Lough Erne. The Enniskillen horse continued the pursuit for ten miles, but failed to overtake the horse of the enemy, most of whom escaped; but they planted a guard at Wattle-bridge, and swept the road from the bridge to the battle-field. Lough Erne was impassable in front, and the third side of the triangle was occupied by the Enniskillen foot, who now broke up into small parties, and pursued the fugitives. In their panic the strangers flung their arms into turfpits, and hurried on till the lake stopped them. The Enniskilleners, mindful of the perfidy of Galmoy, gave little quarter. All that night they beat the bushes and hunted among the turf-banks, looking for the enemy, and it was ten o'clock the next morning before the officers could recall them from the pursuit. By that time there was scarcely a foot-soldier in all Macarthy's army, who was not taken prisoner or dead. Those who were not slain in the bog were drowned in the Erne. Out of five hundred who took the water, only one man, who proved to be a powerful swimmer, escaped the bullets of his pursuers, and made good his way to the opposite shore.

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* Story's *Impartial History*, p. 5.

When Lieutenant General Macarthy saw that his men were fled, and that the battle was irretrievably lost, he and five or six of his officers went into a clump of trees near the place where the cannon were planted, and, some short time after the main body had started in pursuit, he issued from his place of concealment, and with his companions made an attack upon the small party who were left in charge of the guns. At first, the men took them for a party of their own friends, but when their leader undeceived them by firing his pistol at them, they levelled their muskets at him and brought him to the ground desperately wounded. A soldier was about to finish up with the butt-end of his musket, when one of his companions cried out to them to spare his life, for he was their general. Captain Cooper, in command of the party, instantly gave him quarter, and had him removed to Newtonbutler, that his wounds might be dressed. When asked why he did not escape with the rest of the horse, he said that he was now convinced that the cause of King James was lost; that, with the exception of the men in front of Derry, his were the best soldiers that his master possessed; and that he had no wish to outlive the disaster of that day. He had on one occasion saved the life of Colonel Crichton of Crom, whom Galmoy wished to treat as he treated Dixie, but through the forcible interference of Macarthy he had been saved; and the Enniskilleners were glad to have it in their power to repay his generosity, by giving him his life.

The following is the account which Avaux gave his master of the Battle of Newtonbutler:—"The troops return from the siege of Derry entirely ruined, and those commanded by Lord Mountcashel have been beaten and put to flight in a manner to make one despair of such soldiers. When the Enniskilleners came in great disorder but with great courage to attack Mountcashel, the cavalry and dragoons fled without firing a pistol, and after some of them had burst their horses with the force of flight, they took to their feet and threw away their weapons, their swords, and jackets, that they might run more swiftly. The infantry also behaved badly. Mountcashel, who headed the reserve battalion, has been wounded, his horse killed, himself taken, and, as he was forsaken by all, it was reported that he is dead; but he is under good treatment at Enniskillen."*

He was kept at Enniskillen till his wounds were healed; but not being very closely guarded, he escaped at the end of five months' captivity, by bribing one of his sentinels.

This was by far the greatest victory yet obtained by the Williamites, on the field of battle, since the commencement of the war. Two thousand amateur soldiers at Enniskillen, led by English officers, had, in a pitched battle, defeated nearly a double number of the enemy. Two thousand were actually slain, five hundred drowned in the Lough, and four hundred were taken prisoners, most of whom were officers; and when the remnant of Macarthy's army reached Dublin, it was found that three thousand of those who had left it only two weeks before, were missing. On the side of the Enniskilleners, there were only twenty killed, and forty or fifty wounded. So profound was the alarm that this defeat produced in Dublin, that King James in a secret council was advised by Melfort to retire from the city to the Castle of Rathfarnham, and to give up the struggle. It was owing to Tyrconnel, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Lord Chief Baron, who united in a different opinion, that he remained in Ireland a little longer.*

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* *Letter to Louis*, $\frac{14}{4}$ Aug., 1689.

On Thursday, the 2nd of August, the victors returned home, having captured from the enemy seven cannon, thirteen barrels of powder, a great quantity of ball, and all their drums and colours. It was not till two or three days afterwards, that they learned that the day of their great victory at Newtonbutler was the very day on which the army of King James fled from Derry. The 31st of July, 1689, was a memorable point in the history of this kingdom; the friends of King William and of the Revolution, through the favour of Divine Providence, had gained two victories in one day.† For more than three months the two towns had fought a fierce fight against overpowering numbers; the same day was made memorable by the deliverance of them both.

CONCLUSION.

The Enniskilleners, elated with their success, determined on Friday, the 3rd of August, to march to Ballyshannon, and to measure their strength with Sarsfield, who was encamped near Bundoran ; but while on their way, an express from Captain Folliot met them to say, that Sarsfield, hearing of Macarthy's defeat at Newtonbutler, had raised his camp and withdrawn to Sligo, and that the arms and ammunition, sent by Kirke for the use of Enniskillen, had arrived at Ballyshannon. Their next thought was to try their strength against the Duke of Berwick, but before they had time to take any steps in that direction, the news came, on Sabbath, the 4th of August, that the siege of Derry was raised, and that already the army of King James had marched past Omagh. Lieutenant Charleton, with a troop of horse, was sent out to reconnoitre, and he returned on Monday evening, to tell that he had seen the rear of the Jacobite army pass through Castle-Caulfield, within three miles of Dungannon. Therefore, it was now in vain to pursue.

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* *Avaux to Louis*, $\frac{24}{14}$ Nov., 1689.

† *Hamilton*, pp. 39-45; *MacCarmick*, pp. 61-65; *Harris*, book viii., pp. 223-225; *Excidium Macariae*, chap. xxxvi.; *Avaux to Louvois*, 14th Aug., 1689.

And thus it was that Derry and Enniskillen held out for King William and Queen Mary, until victory crowned their efforts at last. General Schomberg, with an English army, landed in Ireland a few weeks after, and held possession of Ulster in the same interest. The Battle of the Boyne, fought on the 1st of July, 1690, shattered the last hopes of King James, and compelled him once more, and for the end of his days, to take refuge in France. Then the battle of Aughrim and the treaty of Limerick left King William the undisputed ruler of the kingdom. The overthrow of despotism was complete. Some derived from it less advantages than they expected, others got more from it than they deserved ; but making allowance for all drawbacks, the

Revolution was the triumph of civil and religious liberty; it secured for the country a period of rest and peace, and by what it inaugurated, as much as by what it secured, it has proved a common source of benefit alike to Catholics and to Protestants.

CHAPTER VII.

THANKSGIVING AND CONGRATULATIONS.

NOTHING is more striking, in reading the original narratives, written by those who took part in the defence of Derry and of Enniskillen, than the disposition manifested in them all to recognise the hand of the Almighty in their deliverance, and to regard the men who bore the brunt of the battle as mere instruments which Divine Providence was pleased to employ. This feeling, however, did not make them ungrateful to those to whom their deliverance was more immediately due; and in some instances profuse thanks were given to persons who had not done very much to deserve them.

In Derry, the survivors of the garrison, so early as Monday, the 29th of July* (the day after the *Mountjoy* broke the boom), drew up an address to King William, and subsequently affixed their signatures thereto. In this address they speak of Kirke in far more laudatory terms than that incompetent officer deserved; but we must not read it with too critical an eye, nor blame persons who owed their lives to his intervention, for forgetting that the needless delay of that intervention had been the death of thousands. It is significant, however, that the paper has not the signature of Colonel Murray, nor of any of the Presbyterian clergy in the city.*

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* That is, if we can trust the date. The address makes mention of the "burnings" which took place on Wednesday, the 31st, so that I suspect the date "29th July" is an error.

After the retirement of the Jacobite army, Kirke, who assumed to himself all the credit for saving Derry, showed as much of the spirit that had distinguished him at Tangier and in the South of England, as it was safe for him to do.† From Inch he came to the city, and had he been King William himself, he could not have assumed more despotic authority than he did over the brave men who had lost everything but life in the service of his master, and whose courageous conduct has ever since been the admiration of the world. His cruelty was equal very nearly to his incompetence. He refused to permit a few hundreds of fresh men to go out and scour the country after the siege, to protect the life and property of the Protestant population from small marauding parties of the enemy bent on robbery and murder; the result of which was that the town of Newtown-Limavady was burned under his very nose by a small party of the enemy a week after the siege was raised. He gave the unjust and tyrannical order that every person in the city, except professional soldiers, should immediately return home without taking any of his goods with him; the effect of which was, that any one who had any property, however small, was robbed of it, and went to his home a beggar. By another order of his, great numbers of cattle from the surrounding country were driven into the city, on the pretence that they belonged to the enemy; but when it was discovered that much the greater part of them belonged to the Protestant population, few could recover his own out of the droves, and all which were not identified Kirke sold to the butchers at a cheap rate. Such acts of petty and purposeless tyranny were almost intolerable.

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* See Appendix, No. 18.

† Burnet, *History of His Own Times*, vol. iii., p. 1107.

His military arrangements were equally tyrannical and heartless. The civil war, notwithstanding that the siege was over, was still very far from finished, and it was thought desirable that the regiments which had been formed in the city and had behaved so valiantly, should retain their organization, and be taken into the service of Government. Kirke acted towards them in the most despotic fashion. He amalgamated the regiments, disbanded some of the officers, and reduced others to subordinate rank; and one result of these arrangements was, that some officers, who had enlisted the men and armed them at their own cost, now found themselves placed under command of gentlemen who had never expended anything or suffered anything in defence of the city. His aim seemed to be to mortify those who had suffered most in the cause of King William, in every way that his ingenuity could devise. So incensed were some of Murray's troopers with his regulations, that they seized their pistols and carbines with the intention of marching home; whereupon Kirke had the audacity to seize the saddles that they had bought at their own expense: and, at the time when the owner was not yet recovered of his wounds, he had the shameless effrontery to lead away by force Murray's own horse, which its master in some mysterious way had contrived to keep alive throughout the whole siege. One officer ventured to complain of some of his regulations: he was reminded that there stood a gallows outside Bishop's-gate, which, it seems, was the first civic institution set up by Kirke for the use of the refractory defenders of Derry. Persons going out of any of the gates were disarmed by the guards on duty, as if they had done something to forfeit the confidence of the authorities, and could not be trusted with arms any longer. Out of the public stores sick and wounded soldiers were allowed nothing; the consequence of which inhuman economy was, that they were obliged to go forth and beg over the impoverished country, and many of them perished out of sheer want. Nor were those taken into His Majesty's service, paid at such a rate as to infringe very largely on the public purse. Colonels were to have five shillings a day, and private soldiers twopence, and every intermediate officer on the same scale in proportion to his rank. Had the defenders of the city been the vanquished instead of the victors, very probably they would not have been treated much more unkindly.

It was quite in accordance with his arbitrary conduct in other matters, that Kirke took it on himself to name Colonel Mitchelburn as sole Governor, and to send to England Mr. Walker, who had not failed to cultivate his favour by every token of deference he could think of, in order to carry to King William and to the Government, full particulars of the relief of the city, and also to present the address which had already been agreed on.*

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* *Londerias*, iv. 15.

On Wednesday, the 7th of August, a day of thanksgiving was observed at Enniskillen, for the great victory of Newtonbutler, and for the security that followed it; and on the same day, the Rev. Andrew Hamilton was sent by the town to congratulate Kirke on the relief of Derry. Following the example set by their neighbours, the Enniskillen people also resolved to send a representative to wait upon the King, and to present an address.* Mr. Hamilton of Kilskerry, who had gone already on so many missions in the service of the town, was sent to present this address to the King, and he was fully authorised to treat on behalf of the garrison in regard to pecuniary affairs.† He was received graciously at Hampton Court, and on the 12th of October he presented the Enniskillen address to their Majesties.

But long before Hamilton or even Walker had reached London, the King was aware of what had occurred. So early as Sabbath, the 4th of August, William being at the time at Hampton Court, the news reached him, by an express sent directly from Major-General Kirke, that Derry was relieved; and, with as little delay as possible, he forwarded the following letter to the Governors, which was enclosed to Kirke by the Duke of Shrewsbury, one of the Secretaries of State. The letter being intended for the officers in chief commanding at Derry, whose names were not known in London at the time the letter was written, Kirke was directed by the Secretary to fill up the superscription with the proper names, which, of course, he did.‡

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* See Appendix, No. 19. † *Hamilton*, p. 60.

‡ Hamill's *Memorial*, p. 15, contains postscript of a letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Major-General Kirke, dated at Hampton Court, 16th of August:—"The King's letter being intended for the

"To our trusty and well beloved George Walker, and John Mitchelburne, Esq., Governors of Londonderry.

"William R.

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. The eminent and extraordinary service that you have performed unto us and our kingdoms in general, by your late resolute and unparalleled defence of that our city of Londonderry, as it does oblige us in the first place to an humble acknowledgment to Almighty God for His signal mercy in supporting the hearts and courages of our good subjects, amidst their great and various difficulties and distresses, arising from a furious opposition without, and a yet more pressing necessity within those walls, and sending them at last deliverance, and bringing them by your conduct to triumph over their enemies; which we cannot but attribute to an immediate Divine assistance, inspiring them with a zeal for the true religion and love for their country, and an unshaken fidelity towards us, and must ever own as a continuation of that miraculous Providence, which hath hitherto conducted us throughout in our endeavours to resettle these nations in all their civil and religious rights and liberties. So in the next place, taking into a serious consideration, as well the importance of this success, as that constancy and bravery by which it hath

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officers in chief commanding at Derry in the time of the siege, and it not being known here who those are, *I desire you to fill up the superscription with such names as are proper to be addressed to.*" The friends of Walker afterwards attached importance to the fact that his name occurs *first* in this document, as showing that he was the principal, if not sole Governor. The above extract shows that the insertion of the names in the document was the work of Kirke, whose obsequious *protégé* Walker was, and that Government, up to this time, knew little of either of them.

been brought to pass, we would not omit signifying unto you the just sense we have of this whole action, in which having the greatest opportunity that can be put into the hands of any subjects of obliging their Prince, you have in all points acquitted yourselves to our satisfaction, even beyond what could have been expected, insomuch that it now lies on our part to make such retribution as well to you the Commanders-in-Chief (who have been the happy instruments under God of that deliverance) as others who have signalised their loyalty, courage, and patience, in this time of trial, that all our subjects being encouraged by this example, may be stirred up to the imitation of it in the like hazardous but honourable enterprises. We will, therefore, that you rely on our royal favour towards you, and also that in our name you assure the officers, soldiers, and inhabitants of that our city, that we will take fitting occasions to recompense their services and suffering in our cause, so that neither they, nor any of our loving subjects, shall ever have reason to repent them of a faithful discharge of their duty, and so we bid you farewell.

"Given at our Court, at Hampton Court, this 16th of August, 1689, in the first year of our reign.

"By His Majesty's command.

"SHREWSBURY."*

When this letter reached Derry, the joy it excited can scarcely be described. Unused to the ways of Courts and statesmen, the simple people thought that the promises of a Protestant Government were as good as performances. The soldiers and inhabitants were summoned to the Diamond by beat of drum, and His Majesty's letter was read by order of Governor Mitchelburn. Cannon were fired from the walls and from the ships in the river, and several barrels of ale were placed at the Markethouse, that the populace might drink to the health of their Majesties, the Royal Family, General Schomberg, etc., and at every health a volley of small shot was fired off. The popular gratitude for the King's letter found expression in a reply, which has been preserved.*

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* Walker's *Vindication*, p. 28; Hamill's *Memorial*, pp. 13-15.

Perhaps it would have been the more prudent course had Derry restrained all avowal of its thanks until this profuse expression of gratitude had assumed some more tangible form. Something tangible was needed, and they had a right to expect it. Most of the citizens had perished in the defence; those who had not perished, had lost everything except life and honour. The survivors deserved something more substantial than words. Deeds were to follow in due time.

The raising of the siege of Derry, and the victory at Newtonbutler, left almost all Ulster in the hands of the Williamites. Kirke sent to Enniskillen for two hundred of the able-bodied prisoners taken at Newtonbutler to be sent down to Derry, to empty the storeships and to cleanse the town;† and the five hundred horse and two hundred dragoons, who took these prisoners from Enniskillen to Derry, were led forward by Kirke to the County Antrim, in order to meet Duke Schomberg, who was now expected every day to land at Carrickfergus. It is not recorded that Derry was so grateful as to shed tears when its deliverer departed; nevertheless, it had not grown cold to the cause, nor did it take less interest in the progress of King William's arms now that the tide of war had rolled away from its own doors. Before the Enniskillen men sent upon this march had reached Newton-Limavady, the Jacobite garrison which occupied Coleraine heard of their approach, and deserting that town, fled to Charlemont; and a short time after, by the adroit management of Lieutenant-Colonel Gore at Ballyshannon, Sarsfield found it necessary to retreat from Sligo, and that place also fell into the hands of the Williamites. When Schomberg landed at Bangor, on the 13th of August, 1689, the whole north-west of Ulster was in possession of the friends of King William, and no sooner had he landed, than all the north-east also submitted; Charlemont and Carrickfergus castle being the only places of strength in the North which still held out for King James.*

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* See Appendix, No. 20.

† The letter of Kirke on this occasion is in Hamill's *Memorial*, p. 12. It is not worth inserting.

It is not the purpose of this narrative to describe the subsequent events of the civil war, which terminated with the capitulation of Limerick in 1691, and resulted in the complete success of the Revolution. But for the satisfaction of our readers, it will be necessary to say something in regard to the subsequent history of the two Kings who figure in our story, and what is to be said may as well be said here.

King James was an elderly man, fifty-six years of age, at the siege of Derry. After the Battle of the Boyne he escaped to the Continent, and, although his friends did not lay down their arms for more than a year after, he never saw Ireland again. He resided the remainder of his life in France, where Louis XIV. treated him kindly, assigned him as a dwelling the Palace of St. Germains, near Paris, and granted him a pension. Here he surrounded himself with a mock court, composed of such of his followers as, dissatisfied with the Revolution, clung to his fallen fortunes, and looked for another Restoration with that hope which sickens the heart. Men often spoke of the uncrowned King as *the man who had lost three kingdoms for a mass.* He occupied his time with the diversion of hunting, corresponding with discontented English nobles, fomenting secret conspiracies against the life of King William, and paying punctilious attention to the rites of devotion, and to the penances imposed by his confessor. He died on the 16th of September, 1701, some six months before his distinguished son-in-law and rival. After the death of his daughter, Queen Anne (the last of the Stuarts), his son, the Pretender, in 1715, made an effort to recover the throne ; and a still bolder attempt was made by his grandson, Prince Charles Edward, the young Pretender, aided by the Highland clans, in 1745. Both attempts were in vain. What folly lost, neither skill nor courage could regain. The House of Stuart has passed away for ever. Their title has descended to one more worthy of a crown ; and should the successors of Queen Victoria follow her wise and virtuous example, no man is likely to see another change of the Royal House while the Empire of England lasts.

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* *MacCarmick*, p. 66.

King William was exactly thirty-eight years of age when he landed in England as deliverer of the nation, having been born on the 4th of November, 1650. He reigned thirteen years. He died, in consequence of a fall from his horse, on the 8th of March, 1702.

"He was," says Harris, "as to his person, of a middle stature, with a thin and weak body; had a light-brown complexion, an aquiline nose, bright and piercing eyes, and a countenance composed of gravity and authority." He was a man of fair ability and steady temper, distinguished at all times for moderation and good sense, but so cold and reserved in manner that he must have seemed an inscrutable mystery to many who were about him. He was by birth and education a Presbyterian, and before coming to England was the First Magistrate of the Presbyterian Republic of Holland; but he does not seemed to have cherished any decided views as to Church Government, and when he became King of England he conformed to the Protestant Episcopal Establishment, deviating from the path of High Church orthodoxy in this only, that he was the warm friend of Protestant Dissenters, and that he constantly resisted, so far as he safely could, everything bordering on persecution for religious opinion.

The two subjects with which he was most conversant were politics and war. The great object for which he seemed to live, was to keep in restraint the great and growing power of France, and to sustain the cause of Protestantism and of liberty throughout Europe. As became the descendant of William the Silent, the founder of the Dutch Republic, he had sounder views of toleration, and was more disposed to practise it, than any ruler of his time. Persecution for religious belief was contrary to his very nature. He never could enter into the feelings of men who, because they were Protestants, thought it their duty to afflict their neighbours with civil pains and penalties, for no other offence than that they were Roman Catholics, and who, because they were Churchmen, loved to give expression to their orthodoxy and loyalty by fining and imprisoning Dissenters. He was in favour of all Protestants, whether within or without the Establishment, living in friendship and harmony with each other; and he was anxious that the Roman Catholics, so long as they continued to live at peace and obey the law, should be protected in their property and civil rights, and should be allowed in these kingdoms the same liberty of conscience as they possessed in Holland. He was not in favour of admitting them to Parliament, nor to offices of trust and power in the State; the nation was not then prepared for such a step in advance; popular feeling in the seventeenth century ran too high to admit of such a measure; nor indeed, with the elder branch of the Royal Family in exile, professing the Romish faith and claiming the Crown, would such a bold proposal have been either politic or safe. But judging from the broad and tolerant views which the King entertained in other matters, there can be little doubt that in more quiet times he would have gladly sanctioned the extension of equal political privileges to all; provided that it could be done consistently with the preservation of the Protestant faith, that such a measure was demanded by the growing intelligence of the nation, and that it would bring to the governing authority of the Empire any real element of strength.*

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* See *Harris*, pp. 93 and 499.

The special design of the Prince of Orange in coming to England, as set forth in his Declaration published at the time, was to preserve the Protestant religion, to protect men of all shades of opinion from persecution, and to secure to the whole nation the full enjoyment of its laws, rights, and liberties—all of which objects were in the end of 1688 seriously imperilled by the policy of King James. The attempt proved successful; the Revolution became a fact. When seated on the throne, it seemed to the King that stability would be given to the Government, and the comfort and happiness of the nation promoted, by three measures which he was most desirous to have carried out. These measures were :—*First*, to widen the basis of the Established Church by such changes in its formularies and government that all moderate Presbyterians could enter it with a good conscience; *second*, to admit all Protestants, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, to offices of trust and emolument under the Crown ; and, *third*, to grant to all the subjects of the realm, whether Protestant or Catholic, ample legal protection in the profession of their religion and in the exercise of their worship. A policy which, considering the times, all men must pronounce so truly liberal, and which was worthy of a great ruler.

But a king, who undertakes to govern a country through its representatives and in accordance with law, cannot in all things gratify his personal desires. A tyrant may do as he pleases, while his short course lasts ; but it is different with a constitutional monarch. He cannot run in the face of public opinion. He cannot go farther than the representatives of the people are ready to go with him. He may point out the path of wisdom, but if they refuse to follow, nothing remains to him but to submit, and to make the best of the case. The representatives of the nation, as it was soon discovered, were not prepared to go with the King in the three great measures which he was so anxious to carry. There was a strong party in the House of Commons, and a still stronger in the House of Lords, which resolutely set their face against every attempt to widen the door of the Church Establishment, and who thought it essential to the safety of that institution to keep it narrow and sectarian, and to shut out of it every Protestant who would not submit to the Prelates and accept the Liturgy exactly as it stood. To admit to civil employments any Protestant who did not attend the parish church on Sunday, seemed to them a proposal of a very outrageous kind. Owing to their vigorous opposition, the King failed in the attempt to carry the Comprehension Bill and to abolish the Test. So soon as, by the advent of William and the flight of James, the danger anticipated by the Protestants was over, and the new King was seated on the throne, a reaction against his government set in, and with some it was a point of honour to mortify William by opposing what it was known he wished. As early as 1689, the year of the King's accession, "the clergy," says Harris, "had begun to show great sourness to the Dissenters, and seemed to wish for an occasion to renew old severities against them." In such circumstances, it was in vain to expect Parliament to do all that the King wished. The only one of the measures which the King favoured, that they could be persuaded to pass, was the Act of Toleration, by which Protestant Dissenters in England were delivered from the Penal

Laws and were allowed liberty of worship. Small as such a boon appears to us now, in these days of freedom, Harris, the biographer of William, thinks it necessary to make a sort of apology for the interest taken by the King in passing such a measure :—

"Though the King had failed in his design for the admission of Protestant Dissenters into office and employments, by the removal of the sacramental test, yet he succeeded in the second point proposed—namely, that of toleration—by the suspension of all Penal Laws for not coming to church. It is seen before what the King's sentiments were, while he was Prince of Orange, in relation to the repeal of the Penal Laws and Test; and that he thought no Christian ought to be persecuted for his conscience, or be ill-used because he differed from the Established religion; and, therefore, he approved that the Dissenters should have liberty of their religion, and that the Papists should have such liberty as was allowed them in Holland, with an exclusion of them from Parliament and public offices. It is not strange, therefore, that His Majesty, now it was in his power, should endeavour to procure a toleration for all his Protestant subjects; especially as it was not only agreeable to his principles, but what they had deserved by their steady adherence to the new settlement. Besides, his experience in Holland induced him to look upon liberty of conscience as one of the wisest measures of Government, as tending to the encouragement of industry, and to the increase of the people, and as affording a sanctuary to all who are oppressed. . . . [The Act of Toleration] gave the King great content, who was very uneasy to see so much ill humour spread-ing among the clergy, and, by their means, over a great part of the nation. He was so true to his principle of liberty of conscience, that he restrained the heat of some who were proposing several Acts against the Papists."*

The King was thus prevented from giving full effect to his kindly feelings towards the Protestant Dissenters and the Roman Catholics; for the High Protestant party, dominant both in the English and Irish Parliaments, put such obstacles in the way as to make it impossible. They compelled him to give up the Comprehension Bill, the design of which was to admit the Presbyterians into the Church Establishment, and they declined to abolish the test that excluded Protestant Dissenters from all Government situations. Even in England, they complained of the amnesty granted to the Roman Catholics at the close of the war, and especially "that protection had been granted to the Irish, not included in the Articles of Limerick, whereby the Protestants had been deprived of the benefit of the law against them." They took out of the King's hand, and kept under their own control, the forfeited estates of Ireland; the effect of which was, that the King was no longer in circumstances either to reward his friends or show generosity to his foes. They compelled him, sorely against his wish, to dismiss his Dutch guards. While paying to the King all the outward semblance of respect and honour, they opposed what was known to be his personal wishes in the most persistent and constitutional manner, and contrived to make him taste, in no small degree, what has been called in modern times "the bitterness of power." So far did they carry this system of annoyance that at one time he was thinking seriously of resigning the Crown, and going back to Holland.

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* Harris, *Life of William III.*, pp. 177 and 178.

The same party in the Irish Parliament were, as might be expected, still more ulcerated in spirit, and extreme in their measures. How they treated the Presbyterians will be told in a subsequent chapter. How they treated the Roman Catholics may be mentioned here. When the war was at an end, and the country had subsided into tranquillity, they seemed quite dissatisfied that confiscation was not carried to a greater extent than it was. To many it seemed a personal injury that the Government of King William allowed the vanquished to retain any property whatever. They blamed the King for granting terms much too favourable to the Irish at the capitulation of Limerick, and some of them had the unblushing presumption to demand that the treaty should be broken. Dr. Dopping, the Lord Bishop of Meath, a high-flying Protestant prelate, who, at the head of the Dublin clergy, had presented a loyal address to King James before the Battle of the Boyne, and another to King William after it,* denounced the Treaty of Limerick in presence of the Lords Justices; and when preaching before them in Christ Church, Dublin, argued, "that the peace ought not to be observed with a people so perfidious that they kept neither articles nor oaths longer than was for their interest, and that, therefore, these articles, which were intended for a security, would prove a snare, and would only enable the rebels to play their pranks over again on the first opportunity." The King was so indignant at this address that he dismissed the bishop from the Privy Council for daring to suggest to Government such a violation of truth and honour.*

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* See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (Mullan's edition), vol. ii., p. 408.

But the Irish Parliament, in which the bishops and their party were dominant, could, with the aid of their political friends in England, give effect to their vindictive feelings almost without restraint. In 1695 the House of Commons at Dublin passed a resolution to the effect that "the countenance and favour which the Irish Papists had had in Ireland during the late Governments *since* 1690 has been another cause of the miseries of the kingdom;" and, to put an end to these miseries, no doubt, they entered that very year on the course of penal legislation which is now regarded as the disgrace and shame of the statute-book of Ireland. In that one session they enacted, that a Roman Catholic who sends his son abroad to receive a foreign education, forfeits his estate; that if a Roman Catholic shall open a school in his own country, the penalty is twenty pounds fine and three months' imprisonment; if he keep arms in his house, the penalty is fine and imprisonment again; and if he own a valuable horse or mare, he is bound to surrender the animal to any Protestant who produces a magistrate's warrant and makes him an offer of five pounds. And so on from 1695 through a century of oppression and misery, insult and despair. These laws, it is true, were not at all times administered very strictly, but they often were, and always might be, so administered. The result was, that the country was kept in a state of chronic irritation; and, subject to such wrongs, it was impossible for any people to become loyal, prosperous, and happy.

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* *Harris*, pp. 372, 378.

This penal legislation was entirely opposed to the principles and wishes of King William, though from the position in which he was placed he found it impossible to prevent it. His principle was to act with vigour when it came to blows, but when peace was established, to be conciliatory, kind, generous. He wished Protestants to act with moderation. He wished to protect Roman Catholics in the exercise of their worship, and in the pursuits of their industry. He hated persecution for religion in his very heart. He was constantly impressing on his too ardent followers, that if Roman Catholics were persecuted in these countries, it would be in vain for him to try to protect the Waldenses and other Protestant Churches living under Roman Catholic Governments abroad.

Now, at the distance of nearly two hundred years, sensible men are in a position to judge whether there was wisdom in the policy of the great Dutchman. Could the Irish Parliament have been persuaded to allow the past to lie, and to legislate for the common good of all Irishmen, instead of for the advantage of a sect and of a class, the likelihood is that all classes of the nation would, long ere this, have been welded together in a common brotherhood, and that the political and religious principles represented by James would have found little more favour to-day in Ireland than they now do in the Highlands of Scotland, which were then almost unanimous in his favour. Had his plan of Comprehension been carried out, the Presbyterians, as well as the Episcopalians, would have been to-day in the

Establishment; and, as preliminary to this, everything under which Ritualism now finds a shelter would have been expunged from the Book of Common Prayer, and the work of revision, perfected more than a century ago, would not now be troubling the Church, nor the want of it threatening to deluge us with Popery once more. The strength that this policy would have instilled into the veins of the English Establishment would have enabled it to live for two centuries longer than it is likely to do. But Parliament, stimulated by party feeling, took another course. It entered on the policy of exclusion and the policy of irritation. By the policy of exclusion it thronged the ranks of Dissent, turned Dissenters into enemies, and sowed for the Church Establishment seed, the bitter fruits of which are not all yet gathered, and which, perhaps, another generation shall reap. By its policy of irritation it fanned the embers of fanaticism and disaffection in Ireland, and stirred a state of feeling among the peasantry which the wiser legislation of the nineteenth century has, perhaps, modified, but up to the present time has vainly endeavoured to remove.

What a strange reverse in public sentiment has taken place in less than two centuries! King William is now regarded as a kind of saint and demi-god by the rank and file of a party whose leaders, when the danger of 1689 was over, opposed his wishes, resisted his policy, and embittered his latter days; and on the other hand, he is regarded as no better than an impersonation of the evil spirit by the descendants of the very men, whom, throughout his whole reign, he tried to shield from persecution, and to whom he constantly endeavoured to show any kindness that he could. The truth is, that King William was neither fiend nor demi-god, but a shrewd practical man of the world, who, in the position of a monarch, showed as much wisdom and liberality as the times permitted ; who rendered a great service to every creed and every class in these Three Kingdoms ; and who would have rendered a greater service still, if the demon of party spirit had not stood in the way and prevented the nation from taking his advice.

CHAPTER VIII.

GOVERNOR WALKER.

THE Rev. George Walker was sprung from a Yorkshire family,[*] which had made its home in the North of Ireland. His father, whose name was the same as his own, was successively Rector of Badony in the Diocese of Derry, and of Kilmore in the Diocese of Armagh. He entered on the former charge in 1630, and died in the latter on the 15th of September, 1677. He owed his preferment in the Church to the friend of Laud, Dr. John Bramhall, so well known for his austerity to Nonconformists, and who was successively Bishop of Derry and Archbishop of Armagh. He, too, was a Yorkshireman, and may have had some acquaintance with the Walkers before he and they settled in Ireland.

The son of the Rector of Kilmore, who obtained such celebrity in connection with the siege of Derry, was born, it is said, in 1618. He was educated at the University of Glasgow.[*] In 1669, he was Rector of Lissan in the neighbourhood of Cookstown, and in 1674 he added to this preferment the rectory of the parish of Donaghmore in the neighbourhood of Dungannon. His wife was Isabella Maxwell, a daughter of the Maxwells of Finnebrogue, in County Down.

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[*] *False Libel*, p. 10.

[†] *Vindication*, Preface, p. 7 ; *Ware*, vol. ii., p. 205.

When the Province of Ulster was putting itself in a posture to resist the schemes of Tyrconnel in the spring of 1689, Mr. Walker took some part in planting a garrison at Dungannon, and in supplying it with provisions; but acting on the orders of Lundy, the garrison and himself, without waiting for the enemy to come forward, withdrew from a post that was judged untenable, and retired to Derry. He had been stationed at the Long Causeway on the day that King James's army crossed the Finn at Clady, and having with his detachment kept his ground a little longer than some of the others, he found, when he reached Derry, that Lundy had shut him out of the gates. After the revolt in the city had disbanded Lundy, and called new leaders to the front, Walker was nominated by Governor Baker as his Assistant, with the consent of the council of war; and from that time he occupied the important post of Joint-Governor within the city, as well as that of a colonel in one of the city regiments.

Though entitled to the praise of zeal in the cause, and of the best intentions, he does not seem to have been a man of any great ability or penetration. He believed in Lundy to the last. Even so late as the 18th of April —the day that Murray and the citizens renounced the authority of Lundy—Walker was one of those who urged him to continue to act as Governor, and promised him all the assistance in their power; and when the traitor refused to retain office, out of respect for his commission and his person Walker thought it his duty to contribute to his safety, and, along with Baker, to connive at his escape.* The charge of the commissariat, which was committed to him, was a very important trust; and when men were dying with hunger, we can well believe that it was very difficult to discharge it to the satisfaction of everybody. As might be expected, his conduct was not above suspicion, and some did not hesitate during the siege to express their dissatisfaction loudly; but, on the whole, it does not appear that any man in the city was better qualified for the position that he occupied; the allegations made against him were not submitted to the test of a public trial; and, the truth is, he seems to have made the provisions go as far as it was possible in the circumstances to do. It was doubtless owing to his constant and watchful oversight at the stores, that he was not able to take that active part in military affairs which might be expected from a Colonel; and that in none of the original accounts of the siege, except in his own, do we ever read that he commanded in a skirmish, headed a sortie, or planned an attack. After the relief of the city, he was, however, very deferential to Kirke, and it was by the appointment of Kirke, not of the garrison, that he was selected to go to London to present the address of the city to the King. The unwise appointment of a clergyman to this duty, and the still more unwise mode in which that clergyman discharged the duty, had the effect of casting for the first time among the defenders of the city the disintegrating element of religious dissension. Walker abused his position to claim for his own party the sole credit of the siege, and to depreciate the Presbyterians, except for whom, it is now well known, the siege would have never taken place.

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* Walker's *True Account*, April 18.

After more than two hundred years of penal laws, oppression, emigration, and proselytism, it is well known that, even yet, in very few parts of Ulster could any promiscuous meeting of Protestants be held, without having in it a very considerable representation of the Presbyterian population. By the census of 1871, within the bounds of the Province of Ulster there were 522,774 Presbyterians, and 398,705 Episcopalians,* but in 1689, before the wearing influences named above had been acting for any great length of time, the proportion of Presbyterians was greater than now. The following statement of the Rev. Charles Leslie, who was well acquainted with Ireland, may be exaggerated,—I believe it is,—but it bears out the allegation that the vast preponderance of the Protestant population of Ulster was Presbyterian at the time of the Revolution:—

"Now I must inform you," says Mr. Leslie, in his Answer to Bishop King, "that the Nonconformists are much the most numerous party of the Protestants in Ulster, which is that is called the North of Ireland. Some parishes have not ten nor six that come to church, while the Presbyterian meetings are crowded with thousands, covering all the fields. This is ordinary in the County of Antrim especially, which is the most populous of Scots of any in Ulster (who are generally Presbyterians in that country). In other of the Northern Counties, the Episcopal Protestants bear a greater proportion; some more, some less. But upon the whole, as I have it from those that live upon the place, they are not one to fifty, nor so much; but they would speak within compass."*

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* Thom's *Almanac*, for 1872, p. 780.

In 1694, Dr. King himself, at a time when the entire population of Ireland of all religious professions amounted only to one million, estimated the Presbyterians in the Diocese of Derry alone to be 30,000; the number of Episcopalians being, by his own confession, considerably smaller. The record of his visitation of the Diocese in 1693, is still preserved in manuscript, and in regard to many of the most populous parishes around the city, he has entered in his notes that the number of the "conformable" people was few indeed. From the district around Derry, as well as from the Counties of Down, Antrim, and Tyrone, came the great bulk of the men who manned the walls, and, therefore, it was only natural the defenders should be a pretty fair representation of the general Protestant population. Among the superior officers of the garrison, the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians were nearly equal; among the inferior officers, the latter were in the majority; but among the ordinary soldiers, they were more than ten to one.† During the progress of the siege, this was very well known in England, and the language of a contemporary pamphlet seems to imply that the knowledge of this fact made some people there indifferent as to whether the city was relieved or not. A gentleman of great sense, as intelligent in Irish affairs as any, upon the report of so many dying in Derry of famine, spoke plainly among *some of his gown*, what others, perhaps for state reasons, would have minced, viz.: "'Twas no matter how many of them died; for they were but a pack of Scots Presbyterians."* No true Englishman, we are sure, would feel any sympathy with the red-hot hate of this clerical partisan, but his words show that he knew something of the religious profession of the majority of the defenders of Derry.

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* *Answer to King*, p. 78.

† Boyse, in his *Vindication of Osborne*, p. 24, says they "were *near five to one*." Mackenzie, who lived in the city at the siege, says that the Episcopal party "could not, according to the exactest computation we could make, claim above *one in fifteen* of the common soldiers."—*Preface to Narrative*. The latter is the higher authority on this point, but wishing not to overstate the case, I set down the number of the Presbyterians at the siege, compared with the Episcopalians, as ten to one.

The Protestant ministers in the city were not divided in the same proportions as the people. Among them the Episcopalians were as eighteen to eight. The following were the names of the Episcopalians who were in the city during the siege:—

George Walker, of Donaghmore, Dungannon.	
Michael Clenakan,† Derry.	Diocese of Derry.
Seth Whittel, Bellaghy. (*d*)	
James Watmough, of Errigal, Garvagh.(*d*)	
Richard Crowther, Curate of Cumber.(*d*)	
Thomas Sempel, Curate of Donaghmore.‡	
Robert Morgan, Curate of Cappagh.	
John Rowan, of Balteagh.(*d*)	
Thomas§ Jenny, Prebend of Mullaghbrack.	Diocese of Armagh.
John Campbell, of Seago.	
Moses Davies, of Stewartstown.	

Those marked thus (*d*) died during the siege.

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* *Apology for the Failures of Walker*, p. 18.

† Mackenzie calls him "MacClenachan."

‡ This is Donaghmore, in County Donegal.

§ Mackenzie calls him "Cristophilus."

Andrew Robison, of Stewartstown.* Bartholomew Black, Curate of Aghalow. —— Ellingworth, near Newry.(*d*)	Diocese of Armagh.
John Knox, of Glaslough. —— Johnson, of —— —— Christy, of Monaghan.	Diocese of Clogher.

William Cunningham, of Killeshandra, in Diocese of Kilmore.†

The following Presbyterian ministers were in Derry during the siege:—

Thomas Boyd, of Aghadoey.‡
William Crooks, of Ballykelly.
John Rowat, of Lifford.
John Mackenzie, of Derryloran.
John Hamilton, of Donagheady.(*d*)
Robert Wilson, of Strabane.§(*d*)
David Brown, of Urney.‖(*d*)
William Gilchrist, of Kilrea.¶(*d*)

Those marked thus (*d*) died during the siege. The Episcopal list is taken from *Walker*, and the Presbyterian list from *Mackenzie*.

Throughout the whole siege, the two sections of the Protestant garrison, in presence of a common danger, merged their religious differences, and united as one man, for the protection of their lives and the support of King William. Each of the garrison regiments had an Episcopalian or Presbyterian minister attached to it as chaplain. The Cathedral was used as a place of worship by both parties in common ; the Episcopalians occupied it in the forenoon, and the Presbyterians in the afternoon of every Sabbath. "In the Cathedral in the forenoon," say Mr. Boyse, "when the Conformists preached, there was but comparatively a thin auditory ; in the afternoon, it was very full, and there were four or five meetings of Dissenters in the town besides."* Each party waited on its own worship and upon its own ministers ; but throughout the whole siege there was not the slightest symptom of jealousy or religious disunion, and in face of a calamity that threatened to overwhelm them all, each rivalled the other in acts of courage for the common good. The *Londerias*, a rude poem, written a few years after the siege, by one Joseph Aickin, an unknown writer, who, with little claim to be a true poet, was evidently an actor in the scenes which he describes, preserves a variety of interesting facts not mentioned by any of the chroniclers, and, among other things, mentions the harmony which then existed between the two religious denominations in the following terms :—

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* Mackenzie assigns him to Derryloran.

† Mackenzie omits this name, making the number of Episcopal ministers to be seventeen.

‡ Mr. Boyd had charge of the congregation of Aghadoey between 1660 and 1699, and, for a part of the time, of Macosquin also. He was ejected at the Restoration.

§ Mr. Wilson was the first minister of Strabane (1659-1689).

‖ Mr. Brown was ordained minister of Urney on 12th of April, 1677.

¶ Mr. Gilchrist was the first minister of Kilrea and Boveedy. The date of his ordination is unknown.

"The Church and Kirk do thither jointly go
In opposition to the common foe :
Although in time of peace they disagree,
Yet they sympathize in adversity.

* * * * *

The Church and Kirk did jointly preach and pray,
In St. Columba's Church most lovingly ;

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* *Vindication of Osborne*, p. 25. See also Hamill's *Memorial*, p. 12.

Where Dr. Walker, to their great content,
Preached stoutly 'gainst a Popish Government.
Master Mackenzie preached on the same theme,
And taught the army to fear God's great name.
The Reverend Rowat[*] did confirm us still,
Preaching submission to God's holy will.
He likewise prophesied our relief,
When it surpassed all human belief.
The same was taught by the learned Mr. Crooks,[†]
And Master Hamilton[‡] showed it from his books.
Then Mills, a ruling elder,[§] spoke the same
Of our relief, six weeks before it came!
From sunrising to sunsetting they taught,
Whilst we against the enemy bravely fought."[||]

Though the Presbyterians saw three Episcopalians in succession raised to the chief command in the city, they assumed that it was because they were best adapted for the post; they certainly never murmured, but tried to do their duty, no matter who commanded, and preferred the common good to all party considerations. Governor Baker, and after him Governor Mitchelburn, had the confidence of every section of the garrison, and the wish of the former that the civil part of his duties should be entrusted to Mr. Walker, was enough to secure their cordial acquiescence in the appointment of an Episcopal clergyman as his Assistant.

This being the state of matters, the least that could have been expected was, that, as religious differences never showed during the siege, any writer giving an account of it should altogether ignore the fact that two distinct and separate Protestant bodies took part in the defence, or should have been studiously careful not to wound the religious sensitiveness of either. Presbyterians perhaps had no claim to the generosity of Mr. Walker, though some men in his circumstances would have been generous to persons of a different religious persuasion who had been his companions in arms, but they had a claim to be treated with justice. Mr. Walker did not take either course. He went to London to tell the kingdom that two different Protestant bodies took part in the siege, and to claim nearly all the credit for the smaller body, of which he himself was a member. It showed the essential littleness of the man, that, instead of standing before His Majesty and the country as the representative of both parties alike, he used his position for the advantage of his own party, and ungenerously attempted to depreciate the share which the other had taken in the matter.

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[*] Mr. Rowat was minister of Lifford, and after the siege supplied for some time Strabane and Donagheady. He died on January 4th, 1694.—*Minutes of Laggan*, p. 328.

[†] Mr. Crooks was minister of Ballykelly (1665-1699). He had a son, Rev. Henry Crooks, who became minister of Moneymore.

[‡] Mr. Hamilton was the first minister of Donagheady (1658-1689).

[§] William John Foster, Esq., J.P., Derry, is one of the descendants of this worthy elder.

[||] *Londerias*, book ii. 8, and iii. 5.

Walker sailed from Derry on the 9th of August, 1689, going to London by way of Scotland. By the 13th, he had reached Glasgow, for the freedom of the city was presented to him on that day.* The next day he reached

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* This statement has been questioned by a writer in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 269, note *e*; but without reason, as the following certificate shows, taken from *Mackenzie's Narrative a False Libel*, p. 12:—

"Apud decimo tertio die Mensis Augusti, Millesimo Sexentesimo octogesimo nono.

"The which day in presence of the Honourable the Magistrates of the City of Glasgow, William Nappier, Dean of Gilde thereof, and the said Dean of Gilde his Councel, Collonel George Walker, Governor of

Edinburgh. The Presbyterian Ministers from Ireland, who had found a refuge there from the war and bloodshed at home, waited upon him to make inquiry after friends and to present congratulations. One of these was that Mr. Osborne whom, in a week or two after, Mr. Walker, when he reached London, branded as a spy, and who had then no suspicion of the notoriety that the Governor had in store for him It is almost certain that Osborne was one of the two brethren who, under date 15th August, 1689, wrote thus to a brother minister in Dublin:—"This account we have confirmed by Mr. Walker, etc., on whom we waited yesterday, at the Abbey, in D[uke] Hamilton's Lodgings, etc., to inquire concerning the condition of our brethren there. The account he gave us of our brethren is indeed afflicting; there being three, besides Mr. Gilkrist, removed (by death), viz., Mr. William Crook, Mr. Robert Wilson, and (as we took it) Mr. John Rowat. The rest of them, viz., Mr. Tho. Boyd, Mr. John Hamilton, Mr. John Mackenzie, and another, whose name he could not remember, were in health, etc. This general is all we judged needful for the present, but you may have a more full account from Mr. Walker, who hath taken his journey this day for London."*

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the City of Londonderry, within the Kingdom of Ireland, is admitted Burgess and Gild-Brother of the foresaid City of Glasgow, and the hail Liberties, Privileges, and Immunities belonging to, and Burgess and Gild-Brother thereof, are granted to him in most ample form, who has given his oath of fidelity, as use is.

"Extracted furth of the Gild-Books of the said city, be me George Andersone, Town Clerk thereof; witnissing hereunto my sign and subscription manual. "G. ANDERSONE."

* Boyse's *Vindication of Osborne*, p. 25. This extract is valuable as showing that Mr. Walker *knew the names* of the Presbyterian

Before he left Edinburgh, the Town Council, wishing to do him all the honour in their power, presented him with the freedom of the city on parchment, part of which was written in letters of gold.* Had they suspected the partisan turn which he was to give the whole affair when he reached London, it is not probable that the Scottish people would have been so lavish in their tokens of appreciation.

When he reached Barnet, in the neighbourhood of the great metropolis, he was met by Sir Robert Cotton, who carried him into the city in his coach.† The greatest interest had been excited in London by the siege, and particularly by the fact that a small town, garrisoned by non-professional soldiers, had resisted for more than three months, and had finally discomfited, the full strength of King James's army, and by a little aid from England

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ministers in Derry during the siege; but the information as to the deaths was not accurate. Mr. Hamilton was dead, but Messrs. Crooks and Rowat were living.

* *False Libel*, p. 12. At the same page may be found a record of the fact in the following terms:—

"Edinburgh, the fourteen day of August, one thousand sex hundred eighty nine years.

"The which day in presence of the Right Honourable Sir John Hall of Dunglas Knight and Baronet, Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh, Charles Chartery, James Maclurge, Andrew Bruce and John Robertsone, Bailiffs, Thomas Crawford Dean of Gilde and Gilde Council, Collonel George Walker Governor of Derry compeer, and is made Burgess, and Gild Brother of this city in the most ample form.

"Extractit furth of the new Lockit, Gild Book of the City of Edinburgh be me Æneas Maclod, Conjunct Clerk thereof. Witnessing hereunto my sign Manual, like as the common seal of the said city is hereunto appended. Æ. MACLOD.

"For Colonel George Walker, Governor of Derry,
"Burgess and Gild Brother of Edinburgh."

† *Reflections upon the Apology*, p. 9.

had made it nearly impossible that he could ever regain his crown. There, Walker was the hero of the hour. The people ran to obtain a sight of him. "No less liberal were they," says a pamphleteer of the time, "in their applauses and commendations; extolling his fame in verses and panegyricks; publishing his effigies in printed cuts; tossing his name between printers and hawkers, and making it the subject of news-letters and gazettes; while every man, according to his fancy, proportioned a reward to his unrequitable merits. It seemed as if London intended him a public Roman triumph, and the whole kingdom to be actors or spectators of the cavalcade. At last he arrived: the King received him graciously, and conferred on him a mark of his favour and esteem; the Lords of the Council and several of the nobility caressed him with abundance of kindness and respect; the prime citizens treated him with all the demonstrations of joy and gratitude; and the vulgar even stifled him with gazing, crowding, and acclamations."* Everywhere it was taken for granted that Walker was the very soul of the defence, and that Derry must have fallen if Walker had not been there. Baker, Murray, Noble, Mitchelburn, were scarcely taken into account; the military men who had planned and fought so valiantly were ignored and forgotten; the honours of the hour descended lavishly upon that one of the governors who during the siege had charge of the provision stores, and who had been appointed by Kirke to carry to London the news of the relief.

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* I am indebted for this extract to the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 270, which quotes it from p. 2 of *Observations upon Mr. Walker's Account of the Siege of Londonderry:* London, 1689—a rare and valuable pamphlet, which I have not had the good fortune to see.

Mr. Walker had an audience of His Majesty; he was feasted by the Irish Society; had his picture painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, in accordance with orders from the King; received the degree of D.D. from Cambridge* and Oxford; received the thanks of the House of Commons, and a gift of £5,000; and was promised the Bishopric of Derry on the first vacancy. Few who know the services that he rendered at the siege would deny, that all he did for Derry was thus very amply and generously rewarded.

During his residence in London, Dr. Walker was an intimate associate of Dr. John Vesey, a native of Coleraine, and the son of a renegade Covenanter who had started in life as Rector of Maghera. In 1672, he became Bishop of Limerick, and in 1678, Archbishop of Tuam.† He was author of the "Life of Bramhall," —the friend and patron of Walker's father as well as of himself. The marks of this unfortunate intimacy, it is believed, are found in the literary production that Walker was now induced to give to the world; and the reply to Mackenzie's *Narrative*, which we often have quoted as *The False Libel*, has been ascribed, with some degree of probability, to Vesey himself.‡ However this may be, Dr. Walker, with a view of gratifying the natural curiosity of the public, published a pamphlet at London, in September, 1689, in which he professed to give a detailed account of the main incidents of the Siege and Relief of Derry. It was licensed on the 13th of September, and is entitled, "*A True Account of the Siege of Londonderry. By the Reverend Mr. George Walker, Rector of Donoghmoore in the County of Tirone, and late Governour of Derry in Ireland.*" So great was the interest taken in the subject, that this pamphlet ran through a number of editions in the course of a few weeks. All that many know of the siege from that hour to this, has been drawn from this rude sketch, which was hurriedly prepared, and not tested by the knowledge and recollection of other actors in the transactions described. As might be expected in the circumstances, it contains a history of the siege, true in its broad general features, but in many important particulars defective and inaccurate; and is singularly unjust, as well as ungenerous, to various parties concerned.

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* This is questioned by a writer already referred to, in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 272, but without sufficient grounds; the fact of the Cambridge Degree is mentioned by a contemporary writer, evidently a friend of Walker, in *Mackenzie's Narrative a False Libel*, p. 12. Besides, he is called "*Doctor* Walker" so early as September 10, 1689.—Report of Committee of the Lords in Hamill's *Memorial*, p. 16.

† Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, ch. x., note 43.

‡ *False Libel*, p. 18; Killen's *Mackenzie*, Pref., p. xi.

Of course it would be impossible in a brief narrative to mention every man who behaved with courage through such a protracted siege. It would be unreasonable to expect *that;* everyone must admit that it could not be done. But there were some who stood prominently out among the officers, and whose services should not have been overlooked. This was specially true of Murray and of Noble. They were the leaders in every sortie of importance made by the garrison through all these weary months; but their great services Dr. Walker in his pamphlet either entirely ignored, or else smothered with the faintness of his praise. He entirely hides that it was Murray who on the 18th of April bearded Lundy, put himself at the head of the garrison, and prevented the surrender of the city.* He does no justice to the modesty and self-negation that prompted that brave man to desire and accept a subordinate position, and to recognise the appointment of Baker and Walker as joint-governors. He seldom or never mentions the repeated sallies that Murray planned and led; he is entirely silent as to his killing General Maumont with his own hand; and as to the almost fatal wound under which he was suffering at the time when the city was relieved.† It is true that, under May 6, after telling of an *action*, where by his own account he himself took a distinguished part, he mentions that, for some weeks after, there "was but little of action, except skirmishes, in which Captain Noble was very active and successful;" and on the 21st of April, he describes himself as coming to the rescue of Murray, who was "surrounded with the enemy, and with great courage laying about him." But in both cases he contrives to introduce the names of the two best soldiers in the garrison in such a way as to set off his own superiority. Noble was successful in *skirmishes*, but the writer participated in an *action*; Murray's great courage would have availed him little, had not he—an old clergyman, over seventy years of age—mounted a horse, and come to his rescue. This is all he has to say in acknowledgment of the services of Murray, and, slight as it is, it seems introduced simply for the purpose of recording what in his estimation was something of much greater importance. "Mr. Walker," says he, "found it necessary to mount one of the horses, and make them rally, and to relieve Colonel Murray." If he rendered such a conspicuous piece of service to the garrison as this, it is strange that he was left to be the sole historian of it himself. It is not mentioned by Mackenzie in his *Narrative*; nor by Captain Ash, an honest Episcopalian officer, in his *Diary*; nor by Captain Bennet, the author, in all probability, of the *True and Impartial Account*; nor by the author of the *Londerias.*

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* Notice, in contrast, the justice done to Murray by Mackenzie, and by Harris.—*Life of William III.*, book viii., p. 205.

† See the estimate of Murray formed by others, who had no interest in depreciating him:—"I have styled Adam Murray, *Hero* and *General*, which, I am sure, no man that knew his particular merits in the siege, will think unjust or unsuitable."—*Londerias*, Pref.

And again:—

"The name of Murray grew so terrible,
That he alone was thought invincible:
Where e'er he came, the Irish fled away."
—*Londerias* iv. 11.

His injustice to Captain Noble is not, perhaps, equally marked. But he makes no mention of his courageous attack on the fort of Creggan, and very inadequate mention of him in connexion with the boat-fight on the river on the 18th of June, and very slight reference to him in connexion with the repulse of Lord Clancarty at Butcher's-gate, on the 28th of the same month. No more gallant soldier ever stood on the walls of Derry than Noble of Lisnaskea. He stood side by side with Murray and shared his danger at every spot where hot work was expected, and life was in peril; but almost all that Walker has to say of one no less noble by nature than by name, is the passage in which he speaks of him as active and successful in skirmishes, and killing several officers; and another, in which he fails in an attempt to rob a fish-house.*

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* "Some weeks produced but little of action, except skirmishes, in which Captain Noble was very active and successful, kills several of

But there was one officer at Derry for whose services, such as they were, Dr. Walker took good care to make room in his pamphlet, and whose movements, even the most trivial, are always sure to find a place. That officer was himself. Except that he was Assistant-Governor, and Colonel in one of the City regiments, there is no act of his throughout the whole siege of a military nature sufficient to tempt any historian to record it. Captain Ash records the brave acts of Murray, Noble, and others, but is entirely silent as to anything heroic done by Walker. Mackenzie was chaplain to Walker's regiment, and had ample opportunity of knowing his deeds of valour, had any been done, and, though a Presbyterian, would not have failed to record them; not only does he fail to do so, but he states positively that the Colonel performed no military act that could reflect injuriously on the clerical profession, and some slight provocation draws from the writer the suggestive remark that throughout the whole siege he was quite innocent of shedding any blood, except "the blood of the grape."* The *Londerias* is equally and significantly silent. Yet, notwithstanding the flash of mock humility in his preface, Walker is throughout the body of his book per-

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their officers, and finds letters about them that afforded some intelligence."—*Walker*, May 6th and June 18th.

* "For as to the enemy he was a man of peace all the time, and was guilty of shedding no other blood to stain his coat but that of the grape."—*Invisible Champion*, p. 8.

Dean Davies also hints at this little infirmity. Under the head of May 31st, 1690, he says: "I dined with the Colonel, and in the evening walked as far as Mr. Turlie's with Sir Pury Cust in his way homeward. There we supped at my expense of sixpence, and on the way we met Dr. Walker, coming from Belfast, after taking *a plentiful refreshment*."—*Journal* of Rev. R. Davies, p. 118.

petually pushing himself into notice, and making himself the one great man in Derry. Constantly the reader is meeting such references as the following, that suggest to every intelligent man, that the writer, after all, had very little of consequence to say of himself:—"Mr. Walker rides to Derry and consults Lundy;" "Mr. Walker receiving intelligence that the enemy was drawing towards Derry, he rides in all haste thither and gives Colonel Lundy an account of it;" "Mr. Walker took his post at the Long Causeway, as commanded by Colonel Lundy;" "Mr. Walker found the gates shut against him, and stayed all night without the gates;" "Mr Walker waited on Colonel Lundy, and pressed the taking of the field." These are specimens of the heroic acts which a historian, who has so little room to speak of Noble and Murray, can record in regard to himself.

In addition to his mythical rescue of Murray, as already referred to, Dr. Walker, under date of the 6th of May, records another of his own performances at the first battle of the Windmill Hill, in the following words:—

"Mr. Walker draws a detachment out of each company, of ten men, and after putting them into the best order their impatience could allow, he *sallies out at the head of them* with all imaginable silence, at Ferry-quay-gate, at four of the clock in the morning. One part of them beat the enemy's dragoons from the hedges," etc.

Mackenzie's comment upon this is instructive: "If he did so, it was not only with all imaginable silence, but with *so wonderful secrecy too, as to be neither seen nor heard by any of those that are said to follow him;*"* and his own account of what did occur wears every appearance of truth:—"Governor Baker and other officers were about detaching ten out of every company to attack them, but the men were impatient and ran out of their own accord."* This account is confirmed by Captain Ash, who does not mention Walker's name in connexion with the sally.† In fact, no man present ever records the deeds of valour performed by Walker, except Walker himself; and the most trivial act of his own finds a far more prominent place in his story than the boldest sortie of Noble or Murray, the latter of whom is with truth and justice designated by the author of the *Londerias*—a man who saw what he describes—as the *Hero and General* of the siege.‡

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* *Invisible Champion, p.* 8.

It has been already mentioned that when, after the abdication of Lundy, Baker was chosen by the officers to be Governor, he nominated, with their sanction, Walker to be his assistant, and that while Baker had charge of the military arrangements, Walker, in pursuance of this arrangement, as joint-Governor, had charge of the provision stores. Afterwards, when Baker took sick, Mitchelburn, at Baker's own suggestion, was appointed in his room; so that, notwithstanding the change of man, the old arrangement of joint-Governors stood the same as before. The fact of the joint-governorship and of the division of labour is admitted by Walker himself, so far as it was possible for such a man to admit anything the tendency of which would be to diminish his own personal importance :—

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* *Narrative*, May 6th.

† "Between five and six o'clock the Governor commanded a party to Ferry-gate, and sent officers with them to beat the enemy from the ditch, which they had lined, and from the Mill, which they were making a strength to place their ordnance upon."—*Ash*, Original Ed., May 6th. The *Londerias* mentions *eight* officers who took part in this sally, but Walker is not among them.

‡ See preface to the poem. Throughout the work he speaks of him as "our General."

"At this time Governor Baker is very dangerously ill, and Colonel Mitchelburn is chosen and appointed to assist Governor Walker, that when one commanded in sallies the other might take care of the town, and if one should fall the town might not be left without a governor, and to the hazard of new elections." *

These words are obviously intended to conceal as much as they disclose; but it takes no great penetration to see that at no time, on his own admission, was he himself sole Governor, but that the authority was divided, first with Baker, and afterwards with Mitchelburn. If there was any reasonable doubt of the position of Mitchelburn in regard to Walker, it would be set at rest by the following extract from the report of a Committee of the House of Commons, under date June 7th, 1698 :—

"He [Mitchelburn] marched into the town of Londonderry in April, before the late siege, where he continued till the death of Colonel Baker, about the middle of June, when Colonel Mitchelburn was chosen by the whole garrison *Governor and Commander-in-Chief with Dr. Walker*, the said Colonel Mitchelburn performing all the duty during all the difficulties of the siege, *having all the charge of the military part.*" †

From the admission of himself, as well as from this extract, it is evident that Dr. Walker was only one of the two governors, and that the military arrangements were entrusted wholly to Mitchelburn, not to him. Can it be believed that, in these circumstances, from the day of Baker's death he speaks through his whole pamphlet of himself as "*the* Governor," as if Mitchelburn was not to be named beside him, and as if there was no Governor in the city but one? Even by accident he never bestows the name on Mitchelburn—he always retains the name for himself. He is always "*the* Governor"—the other is simply *Colonel* Mitchelburn. Thus, for instance, under the 24th of June, we read: "For fear anyone should contrive surrendering the town, or move it to the garrison, the Governor [that is, himself] made an order that no such thing should be mentioned on pain of death."

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* *Walker*, June 18.

† *Hempton*, p. 474.

Again, under same date, we read: "By the contrivance of our Governor and Colonel Mitchelburn . . . we countermine the enemy before the Butcher's-gate: the Governor contrives a blind to preserve our work," etc.

Again, under date August 1, he says: "On Sunday, the Major-General [Kirke] came into town, and was received by the Governor and the whole garrison with the greatest joy and acclamations."

And yet again: "Upon this, we call a Council at Derry; the Governor is prevailed on to go to the King, and to carry an address from the garrison."

Such was his justice to his colleague. While admitting what he cannot deny, that, first with Baker and afterwards with Mitchelburn, he shared a divided authority, he constantly puts himself forward as *the* Governor, and creates the impression upon the reader that, as compared with himself, everybody else occupied a very subordinate position indeed.

Look at the following specimens of the manner in which the vain old man speaks of himself:—

"Aug. 1. *The Governor* orders C. White, etc., to wait on the Major-General at Inch, to give him an account of the raising of the siege, and to carry him our thanks. . . . On Sunday the Major-General came into the town, and was received by *the Governor* and the whole garrison with the greatest joy and acclamations. *The Governor* presents him with the keys, but he would not receive them. The next day, *the Governor, with several of his officers,* dined with the Major-General at Inch. . . . Upon this, we call a Council at Derry, *the Governor* is prevailed on to go to the King, and to carry an address from the garrison."

It was after this fashion that Walker blew his own horn. He designedly shuffles Mitchelburn aside, and pushes himself forward in this unworthy fashion. He knew well that thousands and tens of thousands, as well the living as the unborn, would never know anything of the siege of Derry, except from his "Account." He takes care to be the hero of his own history. A man who knows the siege from his pamphlet only, would think that Baker, Murray, and Mitchelburn were nobodies, and that the writer himself was the only man then in Derry of weight and consideration. No great man would ever have descended to such little arts: it is only the vain, the fussy, and the selfish, who thus parade their own trumpery doings, and are studiedly unjust to better men. The true soldier sets forth the merits of others—he seldom makes mention of his own. But Walker knew well what he was about, and the world took him at the value which he set upon himself. He got £5,000 in hand, received the thanks of Parliament, and the promise of a bishopric, and had his son pensioned by the nation; but Mitchelburn never got any reward from Parliament for his services. When he asked from the Irish Society the governorship of Culmore Fort he was refused, and when he visited London he was cast into prison for debt.

But the most discreditable part of Walker's pamphlet is his unworthy treatment of the Presbyterians, and the reckless manner in which, without any provocation, he flung a brand that kindled ill-feeling among the defenders of the city. Where both denominations had acted in concert, and had behaved so well, the Presbyterians neither expected nor desired special praise; but if it was thought necessary to refer to them at all, it ought not to have been in a tone of disparagement. Presbyterians in modern times do not mind it much, but unjust depreciation was such a novelty to our ancestors that it came upon them with surprise, and what seems so natural to us that we take it as a thing of course, excited their indignation. What gave them just cause of offence was the following:—

1. Dr. Walker pretended that he did not know the names of the Presbyterian ministers who were in the city during the siege. These men had preached in the Cathedral of Derry every Sabbath during the fifteen weeks of the blockade: one of them was chaplain to his own regiment: in Edinburgh, where Presbyterians crowded round him to do him honour, he could and did name six of them to their brethren there: * but when he reached London, where Presbyterianism could safely be

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* Ante, p. 282.

ignored, he had quite forgotten them; for he speaks of them as "several Nonconforming ministers to the number of seven, *whose names I cannot learn*, four of which died in the siege."* This is the approved manner of saying that the ministers of Cookstown, Strabane, Donagheady, and Ballykelly, were poor obscure creatures, quite unworthy of having their names known to such a great man as the Rector of Donaghmore.

2. All that Dr. Walker had to say in favour of the Presbyterian ministers in connexion with the siege is: "The seven Nonconforming ministers were equally careful of their people, and *kept them very obedient and quiet.*" Under the guise of faint commendation, he in these words conveyed a gross libel upon the Presbyterian people, as if they had been naturally so unruly that they required to be held in restraint, and as if their main merit was that they consented to keep quiet while Dr. Walker and his brethren fought the battle. He does his best to convey the impression to his readers, that while the Episcopalians saved the city, the Presbyterians merely held their peace.

3. He went out of his way to publish a gross libel upon the Rev. Alexander Osborne, a respectable minister of Dublin, whom we have already named in this history. He was, as we have seen, the first to give warning to the North of the designs of Tyrconnel. He was not in Derry during the siege. He was one of the Irish ministers who waited on Walker a week or two after it in Edinburgh. But when "the Governor" wrote his pamphlet, he went out of his way to speak of this eminent minister as "*a spy* upon the whole North, employed by

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* *Walker*, p. 57, App.

my Lord Tyrconnel." Mr. Osborne's whole conduct, as already described, was the very reverse of this; and so glaring and gross was the malicious statement of Walker, that on the 19th day of November, 1689, a paper was signed by Lord Massareene, Sir Arthur Rawdon, Arthur Upton, Esq., and others, in which they state the facts in regard to Mr. Osborne, vindicate him from the offensive charge brought against him by Walker, and thus conclude—"We cannot but own that we, who had, as we suppose, good reason to understand him therein, had, and still have, better thoughts of him, and are so far from looking on him as guilty of any such matters, that we *are well assured of his having intended and done therein the best service he could to the Protestant interest there; and that he was very faithful to the same to his utmost.*"*

4. Walker also went out of his way to drag into his pamphlet the name of an obscure Presbyterian probationer who had no connexion whatever with Derry, in order that he might have the opportunity of saying that "Mr. Hewson was very troublesome, and would admit none to fight for the Protestant religion till they had first taken the Covenant." This David Houston, or Hewson, was "an indiscreet and turbulent licentiate" in County Antrim, who, for certain alleged irregularities, had his licence withdrawn by the Presbytery of Route in 1672, and was finally excluded by the same Presbytery from communion in the Presbyterian Church, on the 8th of February, 1687.† When Hamilton invaded Ulster in the spring of 1689, Houston attempted to raise a company in County Antrim. He succeeded in enrolling

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* Boyse's *Vindication of Osborne*, p. 22.

† *Reid*, ch. xviii., Notes 36 and 37; ch. xix., Note 16.

about two hundred men without ammunition, arms, or order; and it was some foolish regulation that he made among these followers, that provoked the criticism of the Governor of Derry.* There is no trace of his presence in the city during the siege. The remainder of his erratic life was spent sometimes in Antrim, sometimes in Ayrshire, in efforts to organize a new denomination separate from the Churches of Scotland and of Ulster. Dr. Walker was furnished with a very convenient memory : he could not remember the names of any of the eight ministers within the city at the siege, but he could, without any difficulty, remember the name of a man who never reached the length of being a minister in the Presbyterian Church, who was not in Derry at the siege, who lived in a different county, and who had been cut off from membership in the Presbyterian communion some years before. Where Presbyterian ministers are entitled to some credit, Dr. Walker's memory fails him so much that he cannot remember their names; but it grows marvellously acute and tenacious when anything can be said to their disadvantage. Mr. Houston may have been "troublesome" to the Church of which he was once a member, but he was never troublesome to Dr. Walker or to the Derry garrison, and, therefore, Dr. Walker's observation was alike impertinent and offensive. His opinions may have been erroneous and his practice culpable ; but culpable practice and erroneous opinions can discredit no Church except that Church which retains in its ministry and membership those who are guilty of them ; which, in the present case, the Presbyterians did not do. And if

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* McBride's *Animadversions*, p. 21.

Mr. Houston would "admit none to fight for the Protestant religion till they had first taken the Covenant," it was an individual opinion for whose absurdity nobody was accountable except the person who avowed it; and it certainly was a small matter in comparison with the infamous Test Act, for which the Episcopal bishops and clergy throughout a whole century contended as for a thing of life and death, according to which none was admitted to serve his king and country, whether as an officer in the army or a magistrate in a village, except he had first taken the sacrament in a parish church.

5. Neither Osborne nor Houston was in Derry during the siege. Osborne was in Edinburgh; where Houston was, is not so certain; but had he been in Derry he would have made himself heard, and the people would scarcely have been so "quiet and obedient" as they are represented. But Dr. Walker, without expressly saying that Houston was in Derry, has contrived, with great ingenuity, to mention him in such a way as to give every reader who does not know the contrary, the impression that he was present at the siege.* Thus, by an

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* Thus Dr. Leland in his *History of Ireland*:—"Some jealousies, however, broke out from these different religious parties, even in the hour of their common danger, and *one dissenting teacher pronounced those unworthy to fight for the Protestant cause who should refuse to take the Covenant?* But the discreet and pious of both parties prevailed," etc.

See *Concise View*, App., p. ix.

And even Lord Macaulay, describing the state of things within the city at the siege, says:—"On the other hand, a Scotch fanatic, named Hewson, who had exhorted the Presbyterians not to ally themselves with such as refused to subscribe the Covenant, had sunk under the well-merited disgust and scorn of the whole Protestant community." —*Hist. of England*, ch. xii., vol. ii., p. 335.

Evidently Leland and Macaulay believed that Houston was in uncalled-for statement in regard to Houston, and an unfounded one in regard to Osborne, he takes care that the faint praise he bestows on the Presbyterian ministers for keeping their people "quiet and obedient" shall not be permitted to operate very much to their credit. No sentence in his pamphlet perhaps cost him so much time in its construction. Under it I fancy I can detect an influence from without, the influence of his friend and associate, Archbishop Vesey, the undying hatred of a renegade to a cause to which his father, if not himself, had sworn and proved unfaithful. However this may be, and under whatever influence it was composed, perhaps no other passage could be produced from the whole range of English literature in which an equal amount of deliberate and stinging malice is conveyed under the garb of innocence and praise. Quietly and naturally, as if he meant to pay a compliment, Dr. Walker says :—

"The seven Nonconforming ministers were equally careful of their people, and kept them very obedient and quiet; much different from the behaviour of their brother, Mr. Osborne, who was a spy upon the whole North, employed by my Lord Tyrconnel, and Mr. Hewson, who was very troublesome, and would admit none to fight for the Protestant religion till they had first taken the Covenant."*

Derry at the siege, for which there is not a single tittle of evidence except the false impression left by the words of Walker; and yet his words, carefully examined, do not assert that Houston was in the city. How ingeniously contrived was a sentence which, without stating what was false, conveyed an impression that was false, both to Leland and Macaulay, and to I know not how many more.

* Walker's *True Account*, April 19th.

6. To crown all. In the Dedication of his pamphlet to King William and Queen Mary, Dr. Walker, in a strain of affected humility, not only represents himself as, under Divine Providence, the Defender of Derry, but rests on that presumption an argument on behalf of that one of the Protestant Communions to which he himself belonged, as if God thereby was showing to their Majesties, that the Episcopal Church was the grand instrument for maintaining their Majesties' interest in Ireland. A very thin argument often seems substantial enough to those who do not know the facts of the case, and for such people—always the majority—the argument was produced; but in men who knew how matters stood in Derry at the siege, the following statement was better calculated to excite derision than to produce conviction :—

" But as the whole conduct of this matter must be ascribed to Providence alone, as it ought, this should then give them occasion to consider that God has espoused your Majesties' cause, and fights your battles, and for the Protestant religion ; and *by making use of a poor minister*, the unworthiest of the whole communion of which he is a member, *would intimate to the world* BY WHAT HAND He will defend and maintain both your Majesties' interest, and the religion you have delivered from those that were ready to swallow both up."*

To the Presbyterians it seemed alike unjust and unmanly to claim thus for one of the two Protestant Churches represented in Derry the entire credit of the siege, and to found on that claim an argument to the effect that Divine Providence was showing that it was by the Episcopal Church he was about to "defend and maintain their Majesties' interest." The Presbyterians were very far from claiming for themselves the sole honour of the defence of Derry; they knew that one party could not have defended it with success without the other, and that both together could not have done it without help from England. They were quite willing to allow to the Episcopalians, as their brave companions in arms, all the credit to which they were fairly and deservedly entitled. But they knew that the gates of the city had been shut by the Presbyterian apprentices, acting by the advice of a Presbyterian minister, and in opposition to the opinion of Dr. Hopkins, the Protestant Bishop; they knew that Lundy, who did his best to betray them and the city, was an Episcopalian; they knew that by far the great majority of the officers and country gentlemen who deserted the city and escaped to England were Episcopalians; they knew that very much the smaller number of them who remained to take part in the defence of the city were Episcopalians; and they knew that had it not been for the part taken by themselves and their gallant leader Murray,* the city would

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* Walker, *Dedication.*

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* Dr. Reid (*Hist.* vol. ii., p. 374) states that Colonel Adam Murray was a Presbyterian. I believe the statement to be accurate for the following reasons:—

1. He was the descendant of a Scottish family, the Murrays of Philiphaugh, on the Tweed; and most Scotsmen, especially those who settled in Ireland in the days of persecution, were Presbyterians.—*Londerias* ii. 9.

2. It is confirmed by the following extract from a letter addressed by the present head of the family, Sir John Murray, to the late Rev. William M'Clure, dated Philiphaugh, Ettrick Forest, 9th Feb. 1874:—"Adam Murray I have every reason to believe was, like the other members of his family, Nonconformist—a Covenanter, like my ancestor who suffered much persecution from the Episcopalians in the

have been surrendered without striking a blow. Under such circumstances, it seemed to them very hard that the very man who was sent to London on behalf of the whole garrison, and whose office and profession might have been a guarantee for his integrity and honour, should attempt by a disparaging and unfounded representation to injure them before their Majesties and the world, and, from a transaction that was honourable to all alike, should seek, at their expense, to make capital for his own party.

But why, it may be asked, have Presbyterians lain under this charge for almost two centuries? Why did they not contradict it at the time, when hundreds were living who knew the facts of the case? This is the very thing they did. The "*Account*" of Walker had scarcely issued from the press, till pnblic attention was called to the gratuitous insults which he had offered to the Presbyterians, and to the unfounded claims which he advanced in favour of his party and of himself. The first to speak was an anonymous writer in a brochure, entitled "*An Apology for the Failures charged on the Rev. Mr. George Walker's* Printed Account," and which was printed in

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time of the Charleses. My ancestor of that period was deprived of his estates and fled to Holland. The cousin of John Knox was a chaplain or tutor in my family, and that name is very dear to me."

3. The Murrays after coming to Ireland settled at Ling, in the parish of Cumber, which, prior to the Revolution, united with the parish of Glendermot, to form one congregation. We have it on the testimony of Bishop King, that there were few in either parish who conformed to the Episcopal Establishment. When he visited Cumber, in 1693, the Bishop made the following entry in his *Visitation Book:*—"The parishioners have been much offended by the vicious curates that formerly served this parish, so that there are not above fifty conformable persons in the parish, though near seven miles in length." On visiting Glendermot the same year, he made the follow-

1689. The writer knows little about the siege except by hearsay, and detracts from the weight of his statements by the freedom with which he indulges in irony, and by the fact that he withholds his name; but by a sort of

ing entry:—"The people are much disaffected to ye Church, there being only about fifty conformable persons in it." This proves that the bulk of the population in both parishes were Nonconformists.

4. At the Presbytery of Laggan, held at Ray, on the 3rd of August, 1674, *Adam* Murray attends as elder from Glendermot. On July 11th, 1676, *James* Murray attends, as elder from Glendermot, at a meeting held in St. Johnston. On 15th August, 1676, *Adam* Murray attends as elder from Glendermot; and on September 29th, 1680, *Adam* Murray attends as elder, but this time from *Londonderry*. See *Minutes of Laggan*, p. 61, 127, 129, 243. We know that Colonel Murray had a brother who served during the siege, and that his father was then living at some distance from the town.

5. His close connexion with the town and neighbourhood is shown by the *Londerias*, i. 9:—

"The valiant Murray's friends dwell in the town,
And all the neighbouring Scotsmen are his own;
He's a stout man; his trade of late hath been
To hunt the Tories, and their heads bring in."

6. The following sentence of the pamphlet entitled *Mackenzie's Narrative a False Libel*, p. 2, would have no point, if Murray did not head the Dissenters in the same sense as Walker headed the Episcopalians. The writer, supposed to be Bishop Vesey, speaking of Mackenzie's *Narrative*, says:—"The whole substance of the book may be resolved into two lines, viz.:—All the brave and glorious actions in that siege were performed by the Dissenters, and Colonel Murray *at the head of them*; all inglorious actions and treacherous attempts are to be imputed to *the other part of the garrison*, and *principally to Dr. Walker*." The fair inference is that Murray was as closely identified with the Presbyterians, as Walker with the Episcopalians. On the other side are the facts, that there is no documentary evidence to prove Murray's connexion with the Dissenters in later life, and that his descendants, so far as the memory of the last generation can travel back, were members of the Episcopal Establishment. The evidence on either side cannot pretend to amount to demonstration, but the weight of it, so far as now known, favours the opinion that Murray was a Presbyterian. Cairns and Gladstanes certainly were.

instinct he feels that Walker has done his best to wound the party of which the writer is a member, and in the course of his remarks he speaks of "that great body of Northern Scots . . . which the above '*Account*' endeavours to extinguish, and bury *with some ingenious scars*, in the grave of perpetual oblivion." Before 1689 was ended, Mr. Boyse, of Dublin, had completed, and early in 1690 had published, his *Vindication of Osborne*, in which he contradicted the statement of Walker in regard to his friend being a spy of Tyrconnel, and set the character of that worthy minister in its true light. No rejoinder was ever offered by Walker, or anyone for him, by way of refuting the statements of Mr. Boyse. But two anonymous pamphlets, in the interest of Walker, were published, in explanation of the offensive and inaccurate statements of the "Account;" one of these, the "*Observations*," I have not seen; the other, "*Reflections on a Paper* pretending to be an Apology," etc., palliates the accusations made, but the unknown writer is void alike both of the manliness to retract and of the power to establish them. Such was the clamour excited by these publications, that before the end of 1689, Dr. Walker came out with a *Vindication of the True Account*, in which he again pretends that he did not know the names of the Presbyterian ministers in Derry at the siege; virtually admits the charge of sectarianism, when he confesses that in writing his book "he *thought it necessary for him*, with as little offence as possible, to discover that *he was a true son of the Church of England;*" and argues that Presbyterians could not have been in the majority at Derry, when they consented to submit to Episcopalian Governors, and to be content with the use of the Cathedral on the Sunday afternoons, instead of claiming it every day and hour in the week.* Little more need be said of the "Governor." Had the Presbyterians demanded a Presbyterian Governor, and claimed the use of the Cathedral as exclusively their own, it would have been quoted for ever in proof of their insolent bigotry and intolerance; but when they submit to the government of others, and try to be agreeable, their conduct is held up by a "true son of the Church of England" as a sure proof of conscious inferiority and weakness.

But a far more scathing exposure of the statements of the *True Account* was still to come. As yet no one had replied who had been in Derry at the siege, and who was fully acquainted with all that had occurred there. It was not till December, 1689, three months after it was published, that Walker's pamphlet came into the hands of the Rev. John Mackenzie, Minister of Derryloran—a parish of County Tyrone, in which Cookstown is situated. He had survived the siege, and while in Derry had acted as chaplain to Walker's regiment. He was well acquainted with the matter, and no sooner did he see how Walker had allowed his party spirit to bias him in the suppression and perversion of facts, than he determined to put before the world a full statement of the case. He went to London, and with the assistance of John Dunton, a rather flighty bookseller there, whose *Life and Errors* was afterwards given to the world, his *Narrative* appeared in the spring of 1690. It is by far the fullest and most accurate of the original histories of the siege. Very many things of the most interesting nature would have perished, had it not been for this production. Had it not been for it, we would have never known the names of the original apprentices, nor the conduct of Murray on the memorable day that the government of Lundy was overset, nor the circumstances which led to the appointment of the Council of Fourteen, nor the true position of Walker in the city, nor many other particulars, not of much importance in themselves, but of great interest to all who wish to know what really occurred. He is calm and sober in his representation, and his statements have every mark of probability and truthfulness. Nor is the *Narrative* the production of a private individual merely. The part of it relating to the siege was read over, before it was printed, to Colonel Crofton, Colonel Murray, Colonel Blair, and Captain Sanderson, and their assent to its contents was obtained; so that virtually it is the account that these gentlemen give of a memorable transaction in which they themselves bore such a conspicuous part.

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* *Vindication*, pp. 13-15.

To the damaging representations of this narrative, Walker did not venture to reply; but some friend of his attempted to meet its statements in an anonymous pamphlet entitled, "*Mr. John Mackenzie's Narrative a False Libel.*" This production dealt much in certificates, got up for the purpose of contradicting some of Mackenzie's statements in regard to Walker's position as Governor, and which were signed by some of the Derry officers, who had lost nearly everything in the siege, who were pressing Government for payment of what was due them, and who imagined that any offence given to Dr. Walker would be injurious to their claims. The authorship of this anonymous pamphlet was attributed to Bishop Vesey, the biographer of Bramhall, who was understood to act throughout this whole affair as the friend and adviser of Walker. This last effort was completely demolished by Mackenzie, who published immediately afterwards "*Dr. Walker's Invisible Champion Foiled*," in which he replied in the most satisfactory manner to the criticisms of his masked antagonist.

This closed the controversy at the time. But in 1792, more than a hundred years after the siege, another original narrative made its appearance at Derry. It had been written by Captain Ash, a gallant Episcopalian officer who served throughout the siege.* It had been kept in manuscript by his family, and was published at the end of a century by his grand-daughter. This *Diary* confirms the statements of Mackenzie thus far, that it testifies to the valour of Murray and Noble, is silent as to the military acts of Walker, never styles the latter, as he styles himself, "the Governor," but represents him as *Joint*-Governor, first with Baker and afterwards with Mitchelburn.

A beautiful edition of Mackenzie's Narrative and of the *Invisible Champion Foiled,* enriched by valuable notes, and dedicated to my valued friend, the Rev. John Knox Leslie, of Cookstown, one of Mackenzie's successors, was published by Dr. Killen, of Belfast, in 1861. In the same year, an edition of Walker's *True Account,* of the *Londerias,* and of Ash's *Diary* in an abbreviated form, with other valuable papers annexed, was published by Mr. John Hempton, of Derry. To both these publications the present history has been much indebted, both for hints and material.

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* Captain Ash was great-great-grand-uncle of H. Tyler, Esq., of Limavady.

From a careful perusal of the original documents now specified, any intelligent and candid reader may arrive at the whole truth. But Walker had the first word. His *Account* met the demand which public curiosity made at the time in regard to the siege, and after curiosity was sated and the excitement had passed away, people did not return to the subject, and the first impression remained. With the public Walker was still counted, as he represented himself, the Governor of Derry. A man who never fired a gun, nor struck a blow, nor led a sortie from the time the siege began till it was over, passed with the world for a great soldier. The director of the commissariat was taken for a hero. The world at large formed of the man the estimate which he formed of himself. He was fêted in London, caressed in society, received the thanks of Parliament, obtained the gift of £5,000, had his son pensioned on the country; and after ages, as if anxious not to be outdone in mistaken and unjust partiality, built to his memory a monumental pillar, which overlooks the city where Baker and Mitchelburn held the supreme military command, where Noble fought and Murray bled, and Walker had the oversight of the stores.

King William, with his usual good sense, reached in the end a pretty accurate estimate of the man, and gave expression to it in a form which will live in history. Walker, intoxicated with the honour that he had won so easily, and not satisfied, after his military experience, to sink down again, even at his great age, into the humble pursuits of a country clergyman, in an evil hour followed his master to the Boyne. On the 20th of June, 1690, two days before the battle, Dr. Hopkins had died, so that, in view of the royal promise, the "Governor" was now virtually Bishop of Derry. On the morning of the battle a stray shot from a Jacobite gun brought the career of the new bishop to a close, and took revenge for the disappointment and discomfiture of the siege. "Dr. Walker," says Story, "was shot a little beyond the river, and *stripped immediately*; for the Scots-Irish that followed our camp were got through already and took off most of the plunder."* The accident that befell him was in due course reported to the King. "What brought *him* there?" said the saturnine monarch. That was William's rough abrupt way of saying that, however justified a clergyman might be in fighting in self-defence, his voluntary appearance on a field of battle was a little out of place. And thus, unregretted by his master, passed away this military ecclesiastic, who was not soldier enough to sink the bigotry of the cleric, nor saint enough to crucify the vanity of being counted a soldier.

When the bishop was *stripped* on the battle-field by the Scots-Irish—a just visitation, one would think, on a man who had dealt such scanty justice to their kindred—strange to tell, his history is not done. Twelve or thirteen years after his death, his widow, animated by feelings for which she is worthy of all respect, desired to have his remains interred at Castlecaulfield. When her wishes became known, a man was found who professed to know his grave,—a task rather hard, depending, first, on the identification of a naked body in a crowd upon a field of slain, and then on remembering, at the end of a dozen years, the spot where that particular body was interred. However, the man went and brought home what he said were Walker's bones, and he was paid twenty pounds for his trouble. The lady interred the relics within the church at Castlecaulfield, and erected over them a monument with a Latin inscription. In 1838, at the end of 135 years after the erection of it, this monument was opened, and in a small box were found a skull, with two arm and two thigh-bones. On having the thigh-bones examined, it was found, however, that they both belonged to the one leg, and therefore could not have belonged to the same man. But the gentlemen who had the privilege of inspecting the relics, nothing daunted by the discovery that one of the bones at least could not have been Walker's, concluded—on what evidence we are not informed—that the other and the skull were certainly his: they had casts taken of the skull, and in course of time had it phrenologically examined. Eventually the bones were interred with every token of respect. Any who can believe on this evidence that the bones of Walker lie at Castlecaulfield, is easily satisfied, and is free to his opinion; but for my part, I prefer to believe that his ashes were never the victims of this morbid curiosity, and that in some quiet corner in the green valley of the Boyne the poor old man still sleeps undisturbed in the grave of a soldier.*

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* *Impartial History*, p. 82.

Andrew Hamilton, Rector of Kilskerry, also went to London to present to the King the address of the Enniskilleners, and he also wrote a *History of the Actions* of the brave men whose case he was commissioned to represent to the Government. But he was a man of a very different stamp from Walker: he did not exalt himself, nor attempt unworthily to depreciate better men; he sought no triumph for his party, even in a place and amid circumstances where the Episcopalians must have greatly outnumbered the Presbyterians;* he told a simple story; he did not so much as name the religious bodies into which the Protestants were divided, and in so doing, gave offence to no man. He did not indeed obtain for himself the earthly rewards that a different behaviour might have secured; probably he was not looking for them. The King gave him a civil reception, but that was all; and dying soon afterwards, he went down to his last rest, with the reputation of an humble and a good man, who did his duty to his country and his faith, and with no taint of partisanship attaching to his name. He is deservedly held in honour alike by Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and will be so long after posterity has learned to value "the Governor of Derry" at his true worth.

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* *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., pp. 275-8.

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* Even at Enniskillen, though the higher officers were all Episcopalians, the Presbyterians were respectably represented. There were eight Presbyterian captains, seven lieutenants, and several ensigns, and a member of Mr. Kelso's congregation had a company consisting of one hundred and forty men. See M'Bride's *Animadversions*, p. 84.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REWARD.

THE Siege of Derry and the Defence of Enniskillen did not, as we have shown, terminate the struggle nor extinguish the hopes of King James in Ireland; but they stopped the meditated invasion of Scotland and England. The loss of time, the loss of money, and the loss of prestige, resulting from the unsuccessful assault upon these towns, made it impossible for him to attempt to carry his army across the Channel. The defeat had localised the war in Ireland; but had left the struggle to be finished afterwards at the Boyne, at Aughrim, and at Limerick. The North of Ireland, and especially those districts which had been the seat of war, suffered severely. Both parties wasted and destroyed the property of the enemy, and also the property of their friends, for fear it should be seized by the enemy. It was difficult to say whether the helpless non-combatants suffered most from the one party or from the other. Between them the whole province was impoverished to such an extent, that years were required to enable it to recover. Houses were in ruins, villages burned, the fruits of the field wasted, everywhere around, famine and death. The gentry, clergy, farmers, artisans, and labourers of a whole province were driven from their peaceful avocations : some of them fled from the country; others were turned into soldiers; many of them were dead. The cannon, the musket, the broadsword, had become the familiar every-day weapons of men who had been much more appropriately employed at the sickle or the plough.

Enniskillen, from the circumstances which its heroic defenders had created for themselves, had lost little except the time of its industrious people, and the precious lives of brave men who had fallen on the field. In every other respect it was a gainer. But Derry was almost destroyed. Its suburbs were levelled to the ground ; its houses were shattered with bombs and balls ; its very streets were torn up. The trade of the town was ruined, its wealth exhausted, and in a wide circle of country around, the fields were waste and the dwellings burned. Multitudes of men had perished, leaving helpless widows and fatherless children, who could neither work nor do without food ; and many survivors who were rich and prosperous before the siege, were beggars ever after.

Walker and Hamilton, when sent to London to report the state of public affairs to the King, had both been commissioned to bring the case of officers and private men, and of orphans and widows, under notice of the Government. In the circumstances, the two towns had some claims upon England and Scotland, and it would have been appropriate if some substantial compensation had been given to the widows and orphans who had lost everything in the King's service, and if officers and men who had served in the city regiments had received the ordinary remuneration of soldiers, from the date of the commissions sent to the officers by Captain Leighton in February, 1689, up till January, 1690, when the Derry regiments were reconstructed, and were admitted as a part of the regular army of the country.

Both Hamilton and Walker represented to Government the state of matters, and for a time it appeared that just claims would receive every fair consideration. Upon the 10th of September, 1689, Walker made a representation to the Parliamentary Committee on Irish Affairs, and obtained from them a recommendation that all the Derry officers should be continued in full pay, whether as acting or as supernumerary officers, until all that served as officers in Derry during the siege should be provided for; and His Majesty, by a letter dated 16th September, 1689, and addressed to Duke Schomberg, gave orders that this should be done.* Like orders were issued in regard to the Enniskillen regiments; but as, in the case of both the Derry and Enniskillen officers, this order only took effect from January, 1689, the amount due for the service of the preceding ten months in which they had been engaged in the King's service was left unpaid.

Every means was taken, that could properly be taken, to obtain from Parliament a substantial recognition of their claims. On the 18th November, 1689, Dr. Walker petitioned the House of Commons on behalf of 2,000 widows and orphans reduced to poverty by the siege of Derry, and who, without relief, had no prospect before them but starvation. The House even recommended that ten thousand pounds should be given to those who had sustained losses, by way of compensation. But this proved to be generosity of word only. The money was never paid.

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* Hamill's *Danger and Folly*, pp. 30 and 31.

Whether Parliament chose to be generous or not, was, of course, its own affair. But officers and men were only asking *justice* when they asked the ordinary soldier's pay from the date of the commissions in February, 1689, up to the time when they were taken on the civil establishment of the country, in January, 1690. A Government may not afford to be grateful, but it is bound to be honest; and one would think that, by such a Government as that of England, the claims had only to be substantiated in order to be allowed.

Charles Fox, Esq., Paymaster of the Forces, reported on March 1, 1691, to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, that to the eight Derry regiments, from the dates of their commissions to the end of the siege, there was due a sum of £74,786 18s. 2d.* The matter was subsequently investigated by a Committee of the House of Commons in 1705, and it was found that when the sum due the officers was added to that due the men, there was a just debt due the Derry garrison alone, of £134,958 3s. 3d. Of this sum, it does not appear that anything more than £9,806 15s. 4d. had been paid up till 1705. When the sum due the Enniskillen regiments was added, it brought up the whole sum to £195,091 5s. 0d.† In this sum is not included the amount expended on horses, arms, and accoutrements, most of which were provided by the officers and men from their private resources, but only the ordinary wages paid men acting as soldiers under the Crown.

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* Hamill's *Memorial*, p. 22.

† Hamill's *Danger and Folly*, pp. 47 and 53.

So that a balance of £185,000, for work performed, was a just claim against the Government and nation.

Colonel Hamill, of Lifford, a gentleman who had commanded one of the regiments in the siege, was appointed to urge the claims of the garrison upon Government. In 1698, when he, in despair, resigned the thankless task, the office of Agent was conferred on his brother William, then residing in England. Petition after petition seeking redress was presented to Parliament. Parliament referred it to this or the other Committee. The Committee reported it was a just debt. Parliament proposed to take it into consideration on a fixed day. When that day came, it was postponed till another day. When that day came, it was postponed again.

At one time it appeared as if something was about to be done. On the 23rd June, 1698, the House of Commons agreed to present an address to the King, asking that some compensation should be made to the Governor and garrison of Derry for their unparalleled services and sufferings. His Majesty had then control over the Irish forfeited estates, and he promised that he would take care of the Derry soldiers as required. But before anything could be done, Parliament removed the forfeited estates from the control of the Crown, vested them in trustees, and ordered them to be sold. With the product, £700,000 of other debt was discharged, but still no part of the sums due to the garrison was met. Parliament took from the Crown all power of making the promised compensation, and they never made it themselves.*

For thirty years Hamill pursued his thankless task of dunning at the gates of the English Parliament, asking the payment of an old debt. But the war was then over; the danger was past. Ireland was of little account. There was a strong party in Parliament, anxious to prevent the King from gratifying his wishes towards the people, and to make the people dissatisfied with the King. Unable to resist the Revolution with any hope of success, their aim seemed to be to make its warmest friends regret that it ever occurred. The very men nearest the throne were, some of them, in correspondence with the exiled King, and could not, therefore, be zealous in their endeavours to act justly to those who had helped to drive him away. The result was, that the sum due to the garrisons of Derry and Enniskillen was never paid. No compensation was ever given, although the fairness of the claim was admitted. At last Hamill, having spent his all in fruitless labour, was himself thrown into prison for his own debt, and from prison he sent forth, as well he might, his pamphlet, entitled, *The Danger and Folly of being public-spirited and sincerely loving one's country*—a full statement of the facts, a memorial of persistent urgency and of disappointed hopes, an instructive illustration of the value that attaches to the honesty and gratitude of nations.

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* Hamill's *Memorial*, p. 25.

It is not to be supposed, however, that, while a just debt was withheld from the Derry and Enniskillen soldiers, individual officers and gentlemen, who had it in their power to make interest at Court, were not amply rewarded. Gustavus Hamilton, the Governor of Enniskillen, was created Lord Viscount Boyne. Wolseley, the hero of Newtonbutler, at the close of the war became Master of the Ordnance in Ireland and a Privy-Councillor—a reward that he had gallantly* earned. The son of Governor Baker obtained the title to a forfeited estate in County Louth, and his widow had a pension from the Crown of £300 a-year up till 1694, when the estate came into possession of the family.† Browning's widow had a diamond necklace put round her neck by King William—an honour which, had it been ten times greater, her gallant husband well deserved. Captain Roche, who, it will be remembered, carried, at the risk of his life, a message from Kirke into Derry, obtained the grant of an estate in County Waterford; but it involved him in such expensive litigation, that it proved in the end to be more of a loss than a gain. The reward given to Governor Walker, and the amount of service that he rendered for it, has been already described. It is said that even Colonel Murray's widow got a pension.‡ But none made more out of the Revolution than Captain Corry, of Castle Coole, near Enniskillen. He had discouraged the inhabitants of Enniskillen from making any defence; he had threatened to put in prison those who armed to defend the town; he had publicly declared that he hoped to see all hanged who took up arms for the Prince of Orange; and when the Enniskilleners showed that they were not disposed to submit to his advice or control, he went to England, leaving the town and country to their fate. So soon as it was certain that the cause of King James was a losing cause, he passed over to the side of King William, and when

* He died unmarried in 1697. Sir Garnet Wolseley, the hero of the Ashantee campaign, is of the same stock as the victor of Newtonbutler.

† Harris's *William III.*, p. 208, and App. xxvi. and xxvii.

‡ Graham's *Ireland Preserved*, p. 150.

all was settled he went to Government with a long story of his losses. His actual losses were, that his house had been burned by order of Governor Hamilton, lest it should shelter the Duke of Berwick, who, on Saturday, the 13th of July, had approached very near the town; and that in a time of civil war the Enniskillen garrison, as they had a perfect right to do in the circumstances, helped themselves freely to his cattle when provisioning their town, and to his timber when erecting their fortifications. To this they were entitled, for they fought in defence of the property, which its owner by fleeing to England had abandoned to the calamities of war; and Captain Corry had met no greater losses in this respect than other gentlemen in various parts of the North, who stayed to fight when he had withdrawn to a secure retreat in England. But he knew better than they how to turn losses to account. He went to Government, with a long catalogue of his wrongs, and services, and sufferings. He had friends at Court before him. His losses were rewarded with a mortgage for £2,000, which was made over to him, and a fine estate in his own neighbourhood. He became the founder of a noble family, and his representative at the present day is the Earl of Belmore—a nobleman whose public character and private virtues are in no way diminished by the fact that King William's generosity to his ancestor was a little out of proportion to the value of his ancestor's services to King William.*

Some individuals, such as those now named, were thus handsomely rewarded; and, from the month of January, 1690, all the officers and men at Derry and Enniskillen who desired it, formed a part of the regular military establishment of the country. But all pay for the services of 1689 was rigorously withheld from both officers and men, notwithstanding that the justice of their claims nobody ventured to question. The results were very distressing. Multitudes in consequence were reduced to poverty and wretchedness, and from that condition they never emerged. Brave men, who in the day of danger had fought for king and country, no less than for liberty and life, were left to pine in penury, their goods and money wasted, their means of livelihood gone, and themselves, perhaps disabled and childless, left in old age to begin the world afresh. Persons who, three or four months before, brought with them to the city what might be called wealth, returned to what once had been their home to find it only a blackened ruin. Some went out to the world, and picked up the crumbs of charity at the rich man's door; others held out the hat in the streets of the city which they had once defended with their lives. Promises and praise were indeed lavishly distributed; but poor men dying of hunger are not very much the better of promises and praise; rather are they the worse, for thereby is excited a hope doomed in the end to bitter disappointment. What the nation should have done, and ought to have felt happy in doing, was left to the charity of private individuals. Out of the provisions intended for the army, Duke Schomberg had to make several grants to keep alive the famishing inhabitants of Derry. Various adventurous individuals made their way to London, and knocked at the door of their landlords, the Hon. Irish Society; and the Society, with their wonted generosity, not only divided £1,200 among the poor of the city, but repeatedly aided individuals who went to solicit their help,* and in this way did what they could to make amends for the dishonest economy of Government.

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* *MacCarmick*, pp. 6, 7, 8, 22; *Harris*, App. xxx.; Froude's, *English in Ireland*, vol. i., p. 222; Earl Belmore's *Letter to the Times*, dated Castle Coole, December 7, 1872.

Even the celebrated Mitchelburn, than whom few men had stronger claims for consideration, was reduced to deep distress. He was the grandson of an English baronet. He had served under Kirke as an officer, in the English army at Tangier. He had indentified himself with the cause of the Prince of Orange from the outset, and had taken part in the siege of Carrickfergus, in February, 1689. After Hamilton's men forced the line of the Bann, he had retreated to Derry. There he had acted as sole military governor during the last seven weeks of the siege, having been named by Baker as the best qualified for the post. During that time he had contracted debts, which two expensive journeys to London, while seeking what was due him by the Government, had not, we may well believe, diminished. He lost his wife and all his children in the siege; and no man in the garrison had stronger claims on Government for a handsome remuneration. But from Government he could not obtain the payment of what was due him. In his despair, he applied to the Irish Society to use its influence with His Majesty to have him made Governor of the Fort of Culmore—a sinecure office, to which were attached some acres of land and a small annual salary. The Society, hoping perhaps to shake themselves free of the annual payment, coolly told the gallant officer that there was now no fort at Culmore, and that of course there would be no need of a Governor in future; but, in consideration of his services, they solaced the unfortunate suppliant with a gift of a hundred pounds. Nine months afterwards, Sir Matthew Bridges came to the Irish Society. He had done nothing for the defence of Derry. He had been knighted on the 15th June, 1688, for being the first to bring to Dublin the news of the birth of the King's son—afterwards known as the Pretender; and during the siege of Derry his house at Brookhall had been the head-quarters of the besieging army, and had been demolished by them when the siege was raised. This gentleman, some nine months after Mitchelburn was denied the humble position that necessity obliged him to ask, presented himself before the Irish Society with an appointment from Her Majesty Queen Mary to be Governor of Culmore, and demanded the acres and money connected with his office. The Society discovered in due time that, whether there was a fort or no fort at Culmore, there was at least a salary which they were bound to pay; and of course the 300 acres and the £200 a-year, which the distinguished Governor of Derry, in his great distress, had not interest enough to obtain, were enjoyed by Sir Matthew Bridges, whose strongest claim upon King William for consideration was, that General Hamilton, while occupying his house at Brookhall, had not looked after the repairs.

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* *Concise View*, p. 75.

But the misfortunes of poor Mitchelburn were not yet ended. In 1709 he again visited London, no doubt to press his honest claims on Government, and while there he was cast into the Fleet prison for debt. It is comforting, however, to know that, from some cause,* his worldly prosperity returned towards the close of his life, and that he was able by his will to show to others a portion of that generosity of which he had so little experience himself. But, notwithstanding this, we can well believe that he did not escape from all the sorrows in which the siege of Derry involved him, until October, 1721, when his remains were laid to rest beside those of his friend and fellow-soldier, Adam Murray, in the old churchyard of Glendermot.†

It was this harsh treatment of the defenders of Derry and Enniskillen which wrung from Hamill, after thirty years of vain effort to have justice done, the following bitter words :—

"We have lost all our estates, our blood, and our friends in the service of our country, and have had nothing for it these thirty-three years and upwards, but loyal promises, commissions without pay, recommendations from the Throne to the Parliaments, and Reports and Addresses back to the Throne again ; finely displaying the merit of our service and sufferings, and the justness of our claims. When we were fighting, famishing, and dying for our country and the rest of the subjects, there was nothing said to be too good for us, and then we had the honour to be called brave fellows ; but whosoever of us has not been able to live upon such fine diet as these fine words compose, have ever since been left to the honour of begging a dinner, and starving when our friends became weary of us. . . .

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* *Harris*, book viii., p. 212, says that the sums due him "at length were paid, but in a manner far short of the merit of his brave actions and great services."

† *Concise View*, pp. 75, 76; *Hempton*, pp. 378-88.

"Our surprise and discouragements are the greater when we consider that all our brethren, the Protestants of Ireland, who performed nothing at all for the Government, but quietly submitted to King James at that juncture, had not a chicken taken from them by him or his army; and now many of them are so rich and powerful, that abundance of the poor Londonderry and Enniskillen soldiers, and even officers, are glad to eat a morsel of bread under their tables."*

To every man who has studied English history in the pages of Lord Macaulay, the cause of this injustice is no secret. No man can suppose for a moment that any blame in this matter attaches to the King.† His mind was so much occupied with Continental politics, that it was impossible for him to give particular attention to the details of home administration. Personally, he was disposed to do both what was just and what was generous; but, under the constitutional system which he inaugurated, it is impossible for the Sovereign to do as he pleases—he must be guided by his advisers and by the Legislature. But in the Legislature there was a strong party not very favourable to the King or to the Revolution;‡ who dreamed of a second Restoration;§

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* Hamill's *Danger and Folly*, pp. 13, 14.

† *Harris*, book viii., p. 177. Harris adds: "The King's design for the admission of all his Protestant subjects to offices and places of trust, not only miscarried, but the attempt much heightened the prejudices of the Churchmen against him, as if he bore no great affection to the Established religion."—p. 178.

‡ In 1690 the main body of the Tories in the House of Commons refused to take the oath abjuring King James.—*Burnet*, iv., p. 82.

§ "Three parties were formed about the town. The one was for calling back the king [James] and treating with him for such securities to religion and the laws, as might put them out of the danger who aimed at the exclusion of Dissenters from toleration and from offices under the Crown; at maintaining the domination of the Bishops; and who did not regard civil despotism, provided themselves were not the victims, as any great evil. These men did not dare openly to withdraw their allegiance and raise again the banner of the Stuarts; but some of them corresponded secretly with St. Germains, and all of them used their influence to make others as dissatisfied with King William's Government as they could. They bore with the King because they could not help it, but they took care to make it difficult for him to do justice to his friends. Some over-generous grants, made by the King to persons who had done little for them, gave the party the opportunity which they sought, and enabled them to carry a measure for taking the forfeited estates from under the control of the Crown, and bringing them under the jurisdiction of Parliament. They thus put it effectually out of his power to reward his friends.

The influence of this political party was much diminished by the accession of the House of Hanover, in 1714; but its operations are distinctly traceable in the reigns of William and Anne, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland. In England it retained the Test Act excluding Dissenters from all offices of trust and emolument under the Crown. In Scotland it imposed on the Presbyterian Church the infamous Patronage Act of 1711, depriving each congregation of the power to choose its own minister. In Ireland it kept the Dissen-

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for the future of a dispensing or arbitrary power. These were all of the High Church party."—*Burnet's History of His Own Times*, vol. iii., p. 1389.

ters from toleration, and when it could no longer withhold toleration, it imposed on them the Sacramental Test, excluding them from all offices in the State except they would take the sacrament in the parish church. It was this Tory party, not the King, who deprived the men of Derry and Enniskillen of the just reward of their service and their sufferings. "The inhabitants of Londonderry," says Calamy, "*on the account of their being Dissenters*, were not rewarded as they deserved."*

The treatment of the Presbyterians of Ireland supplies at once a proof and illustration of this fact. The Ministers of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland had been among the first to declare for the Prince of Orange, and they had all more or less suffered for his cause. The civil war in Ireland had driven many of them from the country, and had brought upon those who remained either poverty or death. Those who survived, had not, like their Episcopal neighbours, a legal maintenance provided by the State, on which they could retire; and, owing to the general impoverishment produced by the war, few of their people were able to give them a support. The grant of £1,200 a-year made them by King William, after he landed in Ireland in 1690, supplied each of them with an annual income of ten or twelve pounds, but was mainly valuable as a token of the kind disposition of the monarch, and as an evidence of what he would have done for them, had his means and circumstances allowed. But the same party who set themselves in England to restrict the generosity of the King, used their endeavours in Ireland to deprive the Presbyterians of their little endowment; and this grant of ten or twelve pounds a-piece was a standing grievance, which Archbishop King and the Irish prelates bitterly complained of, as a premium given to what they called schism, and a blow to the Episcopal Church; and most certainly they would have succeeded in having the wretched pittance entirely taken away, had not Queen Anne died too soon, and the accession of the House of Hanover disconcerted all their schemes.

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* Killen's *Mackenzie*, Pref., xxi.

The Irish House of Lords, led by the Protestant bishops, and the Convocation of the Episcopal Clergy in 1711, both forwarded an Address to the Queen, in which they asked for the abolition of the annual grant to the Presbyterian Ministers, because it had encouraged the growth of Presbyterianism, or, as they chose to express it, "hath been applied to the considerable increase of the number of fanatical and dissenting teachers, and to the support and promoting of faction and schism among us." * It was thus that the prelates and their party spoke of the men by whom Derry was saved.

King William knew well who were his true friends, and while he lived was always a dead weight on every High Church scheme of bigotry and intolerance. Toryism often hampered his measures and curtailed his generosity, but it could not throw dust in his eyes. But he was scarcely in his grave till, in 1704, through the influence of the same party, the Irish Test Act was passed, making it essential that every person holding any office, whether civil or military, under the Crown should qualify by taking the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the parish church. This odious test it was notorious

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* Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, ch. xxiii. See also Froude's *English in Ireland*, book ii., chap. iii., sec. 3.

that no intelligent and honest Presbyterian could take with a safe conscience. Its obvious design was to exclude from every office of honour and emolument any man who was not an Episcopalian, or who would refuse to become one, and thus to degrade, if not to extinguish, Presbyterianism throughout the kingdom; and, in order to effect this low and sectarian object, an ordinance instituted originally by the Son of God, for the edification of the members of His body, was subjected every day to desecration of the grossest and most repulsive kind. For a man who was already an Episcopalian to accept the rite in the Church of his choice, was of course an unexceptional act; but no Presbyterian could partake of the ordinance from the hands of the minister of another Church, as a qualification for secular office, without doing an act as mean and unprincipled as it was impious. Some conformed out of love to this world and its rewards; but throughout the kingdom, every Presbyterian who filled any office under the Crown, and who set less value on gain than on a good conscience, allowed his office to lapse, rather than do an act which he sincerely believed to be an act of sin and apostacy. In Belfast, the whole Corporation was changed in consequence. In Derry, ten aldermen and fourteen burgesses, out of a Corporation of thirty-eight, chose to lose office rather than to hold it by taking their sacrament in the Cathedral. The names of these honest men, who were brave enough to act in accordance with the claims of truth and honour, deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance. They were—

Aldermen	Alexander Lecky. (*e*)	All these had filled the office of Mayor.
	James Lennox. (*e*)	
	Henry Long. (*e*)	
	Horace Kennedy. (*e*)	
	Edward Brooks. (*e*)	
	Robert Shannon.	
	William Mackie. (*e*)	These had filled the office of Sheriff.
	John Cowan. (*e*)	
	Hugh Davey. (*e*)	
	William Smyth. (*e*) [*]	
Burgesses	Alexander Skipton.	Sheriffs.
	Joseph Davey.	
	John Harvey. (*e*)	Chamberlain.
	Robert Harvey. (*e*)	
	Robert Gamble. (*e*)	
	John Dixon.	
	Francis Neville.	
	John Rankin.	
	Joseph Morrison. (*e*)	
	Archibald Coningham. (*e*)	
	James Anderson. (*e*)	
	David Cairns.	
	John Cunningham.	
	James Strong.[†]	

The names marked thus (*e*) were Elders in the Presbyterian Church of the city.

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[*] Mr. Smyth was a native of Ayr, and he left, by deed, dated 13th August, 1702, to his native town, and to Derry, where he made his wealth, the sum of a hundred pounds each, the interest of which was to be distributed annually to the poor. In Derry, eight pounds to eight poor widows was paid down till 1742, when, like so many benefactions of a similar nature everywhere, the fund vanished, and has been heard of no more.—*MS. Account of the Smyth Charity Fund.*

[†] Reid's *History*, ch. xxii., note 37.

Thus it was that the High Church and Tory party, through their influence in the Irish Parliament, sought to impoverish and degrade, and, so far as Parliament could do it, actually did impoverish and degrade the men and the descendants of the men who fought for King William and for religious and civil freedom, and that too in the very city where they and their kindred had shed their heart's best blood. From all public offices under the Crown they were excluded, for the sake of their religion, and they consented like true men to suffer all the bitter consequences, rather than act unfaithfully to conscience and to truth. The aldermen and burgesses of Derry were as much alive to civic honours as most men in their position are usually found to be, but when such things could be retained or procured by religious dishonour only, they knew how to trample them under their feet. Honour to them for it! A faith that has among its followers men who are ready to suffer for its sake, will hold its ground in spite of Prelates and Parliaments. There is a moral heroism in such a deed, far more rare and far more precious than the mere animal courage that presses into the hottest of the battle and looks unmoved on death.

The treatment of the Presbyterians of Ireland throughout the eighteenth century by the High Church Prelates, and by the Irish Parliament, which seemed to make itself the humble tool of the Prelates' bigotry, was very little less disgraceful than that which was dealt out to the Roman Catholic population. First, they were refused a legal toleration for their faith; Dissent was then regarded in the eye of the law as very much worse than Buddhism or Atheism would be regarded now.

When toleration came, it was fettered with the Test Act, and men were thrust out of the service of the Crown and the country, for no other fault than that they were Presbyterians. They were made churchwardens against their will, and then prosecuted for not acting as officers of a Church to which they did not belong. They were subject to expensive actions at law, for the crime of being married by their own ministers. They would not be allowed to teach school without licence from a Bishop, and this license no Dissenter, in ordinary cases, could obtain. All the penal machinery that Prelates and clergy could put in operation, was employed to ruin the Presbyterian faith, and to induce its adherents to desert it.

The Presbyterians sought redress in every form that they could think of, but, notwithstanding that the King and the English Parliament were favourable, there was still the Irish Lords and Commons, stimulated by the Prelates, standing in the way. Then, when hopes of redress grew dim and dimmer, numbers, fortunately for themselves, rose, crossed the ocean to the American Colonies, and left behind them poverty and oppression, many of them with anything but kind feelings to prelacy and to the Government in their hearts. Mr. Froude tells the consequences in his own true and eloquent words:—

"Now recommenced the Protestant emigration, which robbed Ireland of the bravest defenders of English interests, and peopled the American seaboard with fresh flights of Puritans. Twenty thousand left Ulster on the destruction of the woollen trade. Many more were driven away by the first passing of the Test Act. The stream had slackened, in hope that the law would be altered. When the prospect was finally closed, men of energy and spirit refused to remain in a country where they were held unfit to hold the rights of citizens ; and thenceforward, till the spell of tyranny was broken in 1782, annual shiploads of families poured themselves from Belfast and Londonderry. The resentment which they carried with them continued to burn in their new homes; and, in the War of Independence, England had no fiercer enemies than the grandsons and great-grandsons of the Presbyterians who held Ulster against Tyrconnel."*

And so till the end of time may every nation suffer, whose legislators shall condescend to make themselves the ready tools to enable the priesthood of any faith to wreak their bigotry and hatred upon those who dissent from their creed.

Injustice, persecution, oppression, and expatriation—such were the rewards that the nation heaped upon not a few of the men, and upon the descendants of the men, who had fought in the great Revolutionary Wars. Even the vanquished did not fare worse than many of the victors. Reward from the world, they got none. Their only recompense was the approbation of their own conscience, the conviction that they had tried to do their duty to their religion and to their country and to the King of their choice, and the confidence that they had performed a heroic deed which will live in history while England herself survives. It was but a small amount of liberty that rewarded their toils; but they sowed seed which has taken root and grown, and we sit safely to-day under the shadow of that magnificent tree, whose humble beginning they watered with their blood and with their tears.

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* *English in Ireland*, vol. i., p. 392.

CHAPTER X.

REFLECTIONS.

THE study of the incidents related in the preceding pages suggests various reflections.

1. The first is a devout feeling of gratitude to Almighty God that the scourge of war has not visited the country in our time. We speak of the courage, the endurance, the triumph, the reward; but what are these compared with the danger, the toil, the misery, the poverty, the waste of life, the cruelty, the desolation by which it is attended! When involved in a conflict which he did not provoke, and which he could not avoid, it only remains for a man to acquit himself as best he can in the circumstances; but grievous indeed must be the evils which justify his having recourse to a remedy in every way so calamitous. The man who wantonly takes a step which makes blood inevitable, is an enemy of the human race.

2. Apart altogether from the cause of quarrel, on which men, according as they are Roman Catholics or Protestants, will probably differ in opinion till the end of time, all will agree that the defence of Derry and Enniskillen, in the circumstances described, was in itself a feat of endurance and courage which has had few parallels in the history of nations. Enniskillen, occupied

by a few men, untrained to arms, enrolled for the emergency, and ill supplied with ammunition, always went out to meet its foes, repeatedly defeated in the open field a superior force of disciplined soldiery, and itself unprotected by walls, never suffered an enemy during that long struggle to set foot upon its streets. If we consider the situation of Derry, which, though upon a hill, is nevertheless commanded on both sides by still higher hills within cannon-shot; if we remember that professional soldiers who have given attention to military science pronounced it untenable, and that they and most of the gentry deserted it, advising the crowd of people who had collected there for refuge, to make with the enemy the best terms they could; that they who remained behind were simply a promiscuous multitude, very few of which were either trained to arms, or in any way habituated to war; that, when deserted by their natural leaders, they had to form themselves into regiments, and choose officers of their own; that among them there was no engineer skilled in defence, and no gunner trained to handle artillery in scientific fashion; and that, notwithstanding all those disadvantages, seven thousand extemporized soldiers succeeded in holding the city for 105 days, against a superior force of at least 10,000 men, commanded by experienced French and English officers, well supplied with provisions, and constantly reinforced with fresh men to make up for the inevitable loss of sickness and battle—if all this is taken into account, even a candid adversary will admit that the history of these kingdoms contains no record of heroic or illustrious action which surpasses the defence of Derry. The pluck, the courage, the stern determination manifested by its defenders, are the qualities that make soldiers; and it is men who possess such qualities, whom great generals love to command.

3. It is at the same time clear that if relief had not come at the time it did, the city could not have held out for another week. On the day before it was relieved, Captain Ash, one of its defenders, entered in his *Diary:*—"Now there is not one week's provisions in the garrison; of course we *must* surrender the city, and make the best terms we can for ourselves." Had the ships from England and Scotland not broken the boom that Sabbath afternoon, the city must have surrendered before that week had run its course, or else amid a garrison of gaunt skeletons, unable to draw a sword or present a musket, Hamilton, Rosen, and Galmoy, would have entered at Bishop's-gate in triumph, and the flag of King James would have waved from the battlements. In that case, the defence of the city would have been no less gallant, but it would have lacked the one element essential in our day to secure, even for the most heroic effort, popular applause. Had the defence proved a failure, many who now applaud would have blamed the besieged for undertaking, in disregard of military advice, to maintain an untenable position, and condemned them for a useless expenditure of life. Through the mercy of an overruling Providence, it was so allowed that at the critical moment there came from without, that very relief, wanting which the siege would have ended in disaster, and without which the wisdom and valour of the garrison would have been for ever under an eclipse.

4. Though the Jacobite forces were superior in number, and commanded by officers of skill and experience, it

must be remembered that they laboured under some very serious disadvantages in attacking the city. The majority of their soldiers were but raw recruits, levied within the last few months, and who had never seen service; the number of their cannon was very limited, not amounting to more than eight or nine; their gunners were not trained to use them with effect. "Those of their present army," says the author of *Ireland's Lamentation*, "both officers and soldiers, are mostly the very scum of the country, cow-boys, and such trash, as tremble at the firing a musket."* Had there been a train of siege artillery, well handled by a trained brigade, the city walls could not have stood the cannonade for four-and-twenty hours. The bombs were indeed the most formidable missiles which the besiegers had at their command, and all the more formidable because the garrison had no means of shelling their assailants in return; but even they frightened more than they hurt: and the fact that, in a siege of 105 days, eighty persons only, out of a garrison of 7,500, were actually killed either in the city or without the walls, of itself tells a tale that the besiegers were either deficient in the means of assault, or very unskilled in the use of them. Notwithstanding all the shot and bombs which were discharged against the fortress, a practicable breach was never once made in the walls, and a storming party, owing to this fact alone, never had a chance. The guns made a noise rather than inflicted damage; and the Jacobites, fighting for an English King, showed no such pluck and daring in their attack, as the garrison, fighting for life and all that made life desirable, showed in the defence. No man can doubt the courage and valour of Irishmen, proved often before and since on many a field of death; but the very bravest men ill-armed can do little against stone walls well manned and well protected with cannon, more particularly when they themselves are wanting alike in discipline and enthusiasm. Nor is the failure to be attributed to Irishmen only. In the army of King James there were English, Scottish, and French officers of high rank; but in the circumstances, this did not alter the case. They themselves had to admit that, had the walls of Derry been made of canvas instead of stone, they were not fit to take them.* Hunger and disease were the two weapons which did most execution within the city.

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* *Ireland's Lament.*, p. 31.

5. The Jacobite army did not, upon the whole, behave in a very cruel or discreditable manner, considering the power in their hands and the amount of provocation which they received. For four months, from March till August, 1689, all Ulster, except Derry and the district around Enniskillen, was completely at their mercy. They had garrisons stationed in Newry, Carrickfergus, Coleraine, Omagh, and all the principal towns. If they had possessed the wish, they certainly for a time possessed the power, to act in union with the Roman Catholic population and to murder all the Protestant people, of which there were great numbers who had failed in

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* "It is a mistake to suppose that King James's army at Derry was officered entirely by Irishmen. Hamilton and Ramsay were English; Lieutenant-Colonel Wauhope and the Earl of Buchan were Scottish; Rosen, Pusignan, Maumont, were French. I believe also that there were many other foreign officers. Indeed it was a common complaint among the Irish at the time that so many posts in their country were entrusted to foreigners."—*Avaux to Louvois*, $\frac{30}{20}$ Aug., 1689.

the attempt to reach Derry or to flee across the Channel. Most of the poorer Protestants were in this helpless position, and, had the Irish peasantry pleased, they might, under protection of the King's soldiery, have repeated on a larger scale the scenes of 1641; and under pretence of helping the king to put down his enemies, have exterminated their Protestant neighbours. This is what the citizens of Derry feared, when, on the 7th of December, 1688, they shut their gates in face of the Redshanks.

It is needless to remind the reader that no such massacre took place; there was not the slightest attempt in the most unprotected parish of Ulster to repeat the tragedy in which Sir Phelim Roe had been, in 1641, the leading performer. The Roman Catholic population, it must be remembered to their credit, never stirred; and no little party stole quietly out in the evening from the gates of a garrison town for a midnight work of blood among an unoffending Protestant people. That there were in various parts of the province, especially in the vicinity of the belligerents, individual cases of oppression, cruelty, treachery, and murder, in which the innocent suffered perhaps as often as the guilty—cases such as are incident to all wars, and especially to civil wars, which are nearly always cruel wars—it were in vain to deny; but anything like an indiscriminate slaughter of Protestants by Roman Catholics, even at a time when nearly all Ulster was at their feet, was never attempted. That it was ever contemplated there is no evidence, except in the fears of the Protestant population, among whom old memories had not yet died out.

Not only so, but in many instances the Jacobite army treated Protestants who fell into their hands with courtesy and kindness. Captain Henly, a Williamite officer, who was wounded at the passage of the Bann, not only received quarter, but was sent to hospital and nursed by the Irish till he recovered. That Murray's father was allowed to live unhurt in the very neighbourhood of the city all the time of the siege, was in the circumstances an act of generosity, for which the Irish army deserves to receive great credit. Rosen's harshness to the women and children was indeed a cruel and unjustifiable act; but it was a stratagem of war intended to work on the feelings of the garrison, and when it was found that the stratagem failed in its object, the helpless multitude was sent home, and money and provisions were given in compensation to the innocent victims. Tradition tells how some French officers lodged in one of the most ancient and respectable Presbyterian families of the neighbourhood, some miles out of Derry, and not only protected the household, but scrupulously paid for every article that they received. The French Ambassador in one of his letters complains that General Hamilton almost every day allowed fifty or a hundred persons to leave the city, when the stern refusal of permission was the only means of compelling the garrison to a speedy surrender.* Throughout the country districts many Protestants afterwards had to tell of kindness shown to them on this occasion by their Roman Catholic neighbours. I have pleasure in giving an instance of this from the pen of the late Rev. John Graham. Speaking of the old Irish family, the O'Sheills, Mr. Graham says :—

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* *Avaux to Louvois*, May $\frac{18}{8}$, 1689.

"One of these living at the time of the siege of Derry, was Jeffrey O'Shiell, P.P. of Clonmany, in the County of Donegal, who was generally kind to his Protestant neighbours in distress; as were also the following parish priests of that community: Denis O'Hagarty, of Templemore, in which the Parish of Templemore is situated; Dermot M'Feely, of Culdaff; Denis M'Colgan, of Carndonagh; Roger O'Hagan, of Moville; Denis M'Closkie, of Banagher; Isaac O'Lynchachan, of Lifford and Strabane; Connougher O'Mungan, of Urney, and Termon O'Mungan; Cornelius O'Cassidy, of Macosquin; and Patrick O'Scullen, of Ballyscullen."*

Various instances of the same kind are given by Leslie, who, though a Nonjuror, was an eminent Episcopal theologian.† He mentions how the town of Belfast was from the 15th of March under the protection of King James, and that such of the inhabitants of the place as did not flee to Scotland, were treated with kindness and consideration. He records the fact that Mrs. Hawkins, wife of John Hawkins, Esq., a member of the Hillsborough Council, and one of the ten gentlemen excepted from pardon in Tyrconnel's Proclamation, was overtaken by a detachment of Hamilton's army at Donaghadee, and, instead of being injured, was suffered without molestation to go aboard her ship by the courtesy of an Irish officer :—

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* *Ireland Preserved*, p. 283. This extract is given by Mr. Graham, on the authority of the copy of a Parliamentary Report from the Bishop of Derry, found among the records of the Diocese in 1824.

† See Leslie's *Answer to King*, pp. 145-160. His authority is confirmed by Avaux, who says, "Belfast and all around Carrickfergus is a very rich country, and the best part of Ireland: it has not been plundered, and it contains many Protestants who are protected by Maxwell a Scotchman, the governor of Carrickfergus, and a good officer."—*To Louvois*, 14th Aug., 1689.

"When the general rout was given to the Protestants in the North of Ireland at Dromore upon the first descent of King James's army, on the 14th of March, $168\frac{8}{9}$, and all were flying to the sea as fast as they could, several Protestants fell into the enemy's hand at Donaghadee, a seaport in the County of Down, where they sought opportunity of shipping to have fled out of the kingdom.

"Among these was Mrs. Hawkins, wife to John Hawkins, Esq., of Raffer-Island, in the County of Down, one of the most active of any in the North for the Association ;[*] in which cause he was a Colonel, and had his commission from the Prince of Orange, as all the rest had, before he was made a King. He was among the first Associators, and made himself Secretary to the Association carried on at Moira, by the Lord Blayney, Sir Arthur Rawdon, etc. . . . No man was more obnoxious to the Irish and to the Government than this Mr. Hawkins, insomuch that he was one of the *ten* excepted from pardon in the Proclamation of the seventh of March, $168\frac{8}{9}$.

"This gentleman's lady, being taken among many others, making her escape at Donaghadee, instead of being plundered, was civilly treated, and suffered to go off to sea, not only herself, but with all her goods, furniture etc.; and when she offered her coach as a present to Major Colaghan, he refused it, and did not take the worth of a penny from her."[†]

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[*] See Note, p. 53.

[†] Leslie's *Answer to King*, p. 161.

Leslie very properly observes regarding this and other acts of kindness on the part of King James's army:—

"It is just and commendable to give our enemies their due, and not to conceal or lessen what they do worthily, because they are our enemies. Many of the Irish officers were kind to the Protestants, not only in making good their protections to them, but even where they had no protections, and were perfectly at their mercy." The French ambassador was constantly writing home to complain that the King himself frequently damaged his own interests by an over-readiness in pardoning his enemies.* Whatever his motives, such was the fact.

On the other hand it is a mistake to suppose, that King William's officers always treated their own friends with kindness, or even with justice. When Kirke came to Derry after the siege, he ordered, as we have seen, the cattle of the whole surrounding district to be driven into the city, in order to make provisions cheap in the town—an act which King James's army had not ventured on, and of which the Protestant farmers bitterly complained. It is quite manifest that if the Jacobites had been unscrupulous robbers, the Protestant neighbours at the end of a three months' occupation would have had few cattle left for Kirke to drive off. Provisions became for a time plentiful in the city after the siege was raised—a fact which proves that the Irish army did not pursue a policy of wanton destruction, and did not wage war with a population not actually in arms. The Protestants around Belfast often complained that the Irish army inflicted no such sufferings upon them as the English army under Duke Schomberg, which

* *Avaux to Louis*, from Dublin, May $\frac{12}{2}$, 1689.

came avowedly for their protection.* Every army contains not a few unscrupulous men, with whom it would be unsafe to trust the property, the honour, or the life of others ; the only protection of the non-combatant people is that these reckless spirits are officered by gentlemen of character and intelligence, who would scorn to soil their hands with robbery and murder, any further than is demanded by the cruel necessities of war. It is certain that officers of this description were found on both sides in the Irish War of 1689.

6. No party has any great reason to be ashamed of the manner in which their ancestors behaved on this occasion. The Jacobites fought for their king, and for their faith, and for the recovery of that position in Ireland which had been wrested from them by the stronger nation ; the Williamites fought not only for the king of their choice and for their religion, but for liberty and life. The defence, none can deny, was most gallant and successful ; but it is no less true that, had the relief not come at the time it did, famine would have done its work, and in one week more the flag of King James would have waved from the fortress. So well matched were the combatants, that the weight of a feather on either side would have been enough to turn the scale. Had the boom been strong enough to stop the relieving ships, the vanquished would have been the victors, and the victors would have been the vanquished. For want of a sufficient number of heavy guns to guard the passage at Culmore, King James lost Derry, if not a kingdom. Where both sides behaved as well and fought as bravely as their circumstances permitted, no party has

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* *Leslie*, pp. 95 and 160.

reason to be ashamed; but, on the other hand, neither has cause to exult extravagantly in a state of things, where the weight of a straw in either scale was enough to turn victory into defeat or defeat into victory.

7. The circumstances of the world and of the nation are very different from what they were in 1689. Ireland now is not what it was then. Our island now is not a colony or dependency, but a constituent portion of a great empire, whose subjects reside in every clime, and whose flag waves on every sea. The local wars of tribe against tribe, which disfigure the early history of Ireland, and exhibit a state of affairs more characteristic of savage than of civilised life, have passed away; civil wars have long since been relegated to the domain of history; even rebellion has become so hopeless that it is practically impossible. Under a constitution like ours, where government is simply the reflection of popular opinion, there is no need for it; moral force can really accomplish what rebellion only aims at, and can accomplish it in a safer and more satisfactory way. The penal laws, so long the curse of the whole country—of their authors and abettors as well as of their victims—have long ago been removed. Even the domination of one sect over others is at an end. For the first time since the Reformation, on the 1st of January, 1871, every native of Ireland, irrespective of his creed, stood on an equality before the law. There is, perhaps, no public office under the Crown, to which any Irish subject, no matter of what hue his religious opinions may be, is not eligible in his own country. The days of privilege and exclusion are at an end, so far as it is in the power of law and government to end them. The only restraint to which

we are subject is that wholesome restraint essential to the protection of life and property—the restraint which keeps a man from injuring his neighbour, and which is so beneficial, that the man from whom it is removed is more to be pitied than the man on whom it is imposed. We all live under the sceptre of a monarch, who governs in strict accordance with law, in a land where laws are carefully considered, on the whole wisely made, and, so far as human infirmity permits, justly administered; and where for every abuse public opinion sooner or later is sure to provide a remedy. Every man living in this favoured land, now enjoys liberty, civil and religious, to the utmost extent that the enjoyment of it is good for himself.

The present generation finds itself in circumstances entirely different from those in which our ancestors found themselves in 1689. May it not be that a change of circumstances calls for a corresponding change in the special virtues which it is our duty to exhibit? When religion, property, and life, are thought to be in danger from arbitrary power or popular violence, there is then an urgent demand for patriotism, self-sacrifice, intrepidity, valour, endurance, and all the more heroic qualities which humanity needs for its defence; but in peaceful times, when civil war is at a distance, and there is no need of an appeal to arms, is there not a necessity for the oblivion of party feuds, for forbearance with those who differ from us, for lovingkindness, and for generosity? There is a time for everything under the sun. When the clang of war is in the land, and everything in confusion, gentleness is akin to cowardice; but in quiet times, when law has for the common good asserted its supremacy over all, valour itself is at a discount, and pugnacity is anything but a virtue. A coward in the war-time is nearly as much out of place, as a very brave man when there is no necessity to fight. The great dramatist has given expression to this thought in the well-known passage :—

> "In peace, there's nothing so becomes a man
> As modest stillness and humility ;
> But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
> Then—— "

8. In one respect indeed our national condition is unchanged, and for many years likely to remain so. Difference of religious opinion among the inhabitants of Ireland is as wide as ever. The chasm which divides Irish Roman Catholics from Irish Protestants of every name is at this day as great as in 1689, and is in no way diminished, nor likely to be diminished, by the increase of knowledge and the advance of civilisation.

So long as this wide gulf separates two such important sections of the population, it can never be difficult, when design or wantonness shall give the signal, to excite strife, to kindle jealousy and hate, and stir up old passions which time has only repressed, but has never extinguished. The object, therefore, of every man who fears God and loves his country, in the circumstances described, should be to show, that conscientious and honest difference of opinion in religion is not inconsistent with kindly feeling, with friendly intercourse in daily life, with mutual help in distress and difficulty, with harmony of action on all questions touching the common good. Every man of worth and intelligence in the community, whatever be his creed, is concerned to prove, that the warmest attachment to what he deems to be the true religion, is quite consistent with the determination to give no needless offence to any, and with the desire and effort to promote the interests of all. Every admirer of King William should remember that, as that great monarch often said, he had come over "to deliver the Protestants, but not to persecute the Papists."* To tolerate honest difference of opinion, is the spirit that William always aimed to promote.

9. Under these circumstances, is it a duty which we owe to God and our country, to celebrate the victories of our ancestors in any form that is calculated to excite the prejudices and provoke the ill-will of neighbours, with whom, though we differ in religion, yet we come into contact on the everyday business of life, and to whom we are bound by ties of citizenship and of mutual service and obligation? Is it not quite possible to cherish the remembrance of great actions, without doing anything that living men may justly regard as a provocation and an insult? Christianity positively enjoins us to love our neighbours as ourselves; but is the discharge of that obligation consistent with doing something else *not commanded by God*, but which, as we know for a fact, will hurt our neighbour's feelings, stir up in his heart evil passions, and thus tempt him to sin? Is it generous to remind, without necessity, any section of our countrymen, that on one occasion our ancestors won a victory over theirs; and would not a noble adversary show more of true greatness and merit by disdaining to stoop to any such unworthy boast? A brave man fights if he must fight, and shakes hands with a gallant foe

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* Harris's *Life of King William*, book vii., p. 175.

when the fight is over; but no truly brave man ever insults the vanquished, by reminding him and his, years afterwards, of the defeat. Were he in a thoughtless moment betrayed into such an act, he would, on reflection, feel no little ashamed; certainly he would not desire that the pen of history should record it of him. Is it wise to do an act, not required by the authority of God or of the law, which is known from repeated trial to stir up bitter feelings in our neighbours, which withdraws our own attention from our everyday business, which gives such an unfavourable picture of our own religion, and confirms others in the prejudices which they entertain against our faith? If to taunt our neighbours with the defeats our ancestors inflicted on theirs, is therefore neither wise, nor manly, nor generous, nor Christian, how can we honestly in the sight of God do such an act, or encourage others to do it?

10. There is a strange tendency in men to take credit to themselves for the great and noble acts which their ancestors performed, and to leave these same ancestors to bear alone the whole burden of anything discreditable in their words or conduct. But we treat our neighbours in a way the very opposite of this: whatever was base in the actions of their ancestors, we lay without scruple at our neighbours' door, and we stoutly refuse to give them credit for any little virtues which, perhaps in face of some temptation, their predecessors may have exhibited. Now this is scarcely fair. If we persist in making the man on the other side of the way responsible for all the crimes of his great-grandfather, we are bound to give him credit for any little virtues that the old gentleman must have possessed in his time; and if we

plume ourselves in no small degree on the merits and services of our own great-grandfather, we should remember that we cannot in fair play shake ourselves free of the faults and follies of which it is whispered he was guilty. But the truth is that no man has a right to tax his neighbour with the sins of his progenitors, and to credit himself with nothing but the virtues of his own.

No living man has a better right to take honour to himself for the siege of Derry, than he has for the battle of Marathon or of Cressy. None of the present generation was there; and if we had been, there is no saying how we would have acted. Though our ancestors behaved as true men and soldiers should, it is not exactly clear that we in their circumstances would have shown equal gallantry and courage. We may denounce the ferocity of Rosen and the perfidy of Galmoy; but we have no right to attribute the same ferocity and perfidy to others who are members of the same political or religious party, but who, it may be, condemn their cruel and treacherous conduct as warmly as we do ourselves. Some of us may think that the Lauds and Bramhalls, the Leslies and Kings, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, dealt rather harshly with our kith and kin: but they were after all more their own enemies than ours; their intolerance undermined the very fabric which they sought so unscrupulously to support; and whether it was so or not, it would be most absurd in us now to treat the Episcopalians whom we are meeting every day as in any way accountable for bigotry and harshness which they do not approve, or to suppose that every Irish prelate till the end of time is of necessity a Bramhall or a King.

The spirit of Churches is improving as the ages roll, and even humanity, it is to be hoped, is not growing worse. Still, each generation has sins enough of its own to burden and to vex it. Human life would at last become intolerable, if every new generation were to be held accountable for the accumulated sins of its party in all past ages. History indeed will not permit us to forget how men and Churches acted on great public occasions ; but surely nothing could be more absurd than to credit ourselves with all the good and none of the evil that our ancestors have done, and to fasten on our neighbours all the evil and none of the good which were achieved by theirs. If we pride ourselves on our own doings only, there will be little to praise ; if we blame our neighbours for nothing except their own demerits, there will be little to blame. But all party commemorations proceed on the principle of hereditary merit and demerit. They are based on the absurd principle that the present generation is entitled to take glory for battles which it never fought, and for virtues which it never displayed ; and that others are to be put to shame for the defeats in which they had no part, and for disasters for which they are no more accountable than a Frenchman, to be born two centuries hence, could be rationally held accountable for Sedan.

11. Defeats are not peculiar to one party; history shows that every party in turn has to take its share of them. The Scottish troops, under Munro, were defeated at the battle of Benburb; the Williamite forces, under Sir Arthur Rawdon, were routed in the Break of Dromore. Should it please our neighbours to celebrate in every provoking form which ingenuity could devise,

these victories that their ancestors won over ours, I suppose that, as in duty bound, we would bear it meekly, and in consistency we would no doubt think that it is quite natural and right that deeds so heroic should be held in everlasting remembrance. But some of us would not be so tolerant, and would not care to witness such a triumph at our own expense. If so, then our duty is clear. It is not to treat men as they treat us, or as we think they would treat us, provided they had the power; it is to treat them as we would wish to be treated, if our relative positions were reversed. "ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO TO YOU, DO YE EVEN SO TO THEM." Thus to act is Christianity and manhood of the truest type.

12. The appreciation of what is great and noble, and the dislike of everything base and evil, are qualities of high excellence, and where they are cherished and cultivated, they cannot miss, when the opportunity presents itself, of being fruitful of good results. The best means of producing and strengthening qualities of this nature, is a subject on which difference of opinion may be legitimately entertained. But common sense must surely suggest how impolitic and discreditable it is to adopt any form of commemoration of heroic acts which is regarded by any section of our countrymen as an offence, and which reminds them painfully of defeat and humiliation. It is alike the interest of all to bury old feuds in a common grave, to turn a new page in the nation's history, and, while cherishing fondly the heroism of the past, to try if we can turn the hereditary courage that we wish it to be thought that we possess, into new channels, and to surpass those who have gone

before us, in heroic deeds. It has indeed been said, that "a people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors, will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered by remote descendants;" but it is equally true that posterity will not be careful to remember men who merely pride themselves on the noble conduct of their forefathers, but who do not behave nobly themselves. No man is likely to do much that is great or good, whose ambition aims at nothing higher than to figure in a procession, and flaunt a party-coloured flag once or twice a year, full in the face of some sober and industrious neighbour, who is reputed to be an enemy of the faith.

13. Our proper duty at the present time, is to cherish gratitude to the Almighty Father that our lot has fallen upon better times, when civil war has for two centuries passed away; when all men of every creed have complete security in the enjoyment of their faith and property and life; when every man is free to profess his religion without being accountable to his fellow man; when the law makes no distinction among Churches; and the monarch casts the mantle of protection over the humblest as well as greatest member of the commonwealth. We show gratitude for our mercies, and walk worthy of our ancestors, not when we provoke hatred and perpetuate ill-will, or exult in unmanly fashion over those whose fathers, as it so happened, waged unsuccessful war with ours, but when we pray devoutly that no such crisis as put our ancestors' courage to the proof shall ever try our own; when, conscious of our own failings, we overlook the errors of others and lend them a helping hand in doing right; and when we enter into

generous rivalry with our fellow-countrymen of all persuasions, as to which of us will excel in acts of forbearance and of love to one another, and as to which will best discharge the duty that we all alike owe to the Crown and to our native land. Division impairs strength. No nation is ever strong whose members are at strife with each other. The aim of the true patriot is not wantonly to set class against class, or man against man, but, by obedience to the law, and by cherishing a peaceable and friendly spirit, to strengthen the bonds which bind together the various members of the body politic, and, by his talents and character, to contribute his part to make our common country great and respected among the nations.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.—The Letter to the Society at London, sent from Derry by Mr. Cairns.

Right Worshipful.

In our sad calamity, and under the greatest apprehension of our total excision by the Irish in these parts of the kingdom which border upon us, we thought it necessary for us immediately to despatch David Cairns, Esq., a very worthy citizen of this city, and lately a member of this corporation, into England to report our case to you, and to use his endeavours by all just means for our speedy relief. And we have eternal obligations laid on us to bless God, whose mercy and providence rescued us from the designs of wicked men, that conspired our ruin, without any provocation on our parts, whose inclination, as well as interest, it was to live peaceably with all men.

On Friday, the 7th instant, several intimations came to several hands hereabouts, that on the Sunday following a massacre was designed by the Irish in Ulster; and although it caused great thoughts of heart to the most assured amongst us, yet none of the more aged or grave came to any other resolution than to submit to the Divine Providence, whatever the event might be; and just at that juncture, whilst the younger and more inconsiderate were consulting their own safety (and, it seems, had resolved on the means), a part of the Earl of Antrim's regiment newly levied, and all composed of Highlanders and Ulster Papists, came to the riverside, and their officers came over into the city to the sheriffs, for quarters and lodgings for them. We confess our fears on the occasion became more pungent, but we still remained silent except our prayers and devotions. But just as the soldiers were approaching the gates, the youthhood by a strange impulse ran in one body and shut the gates, and put themselves in the best posture of defence they could. We blamed but could not guide or persuade them to any less resolution that night; and so the soldiers retired, and were quartered in the neighbourhood, where although they did not murder or destroy any, yet many threats they uttered, and outrages they committed. The next day we hoped to prevail with those that assumed the power of the city, to open the gates and receive the garrison; but the news and intimations of the general design came so fast, so full from all quarters, that we then blessed God for our present escape, effected by means unforeseen, and against our wills. In the general hurry and consternation of not us only, but all the neighbouring counties, when we have but scarce time to hear the repeated informations of our danger, it is not possible for us to furnish the bearer with all requisite testimonials to evince this sad truth; nor will it consist with our safety to protract his stay till it can be done, the vessel that carries him being just ready for sail. We must refer you to his report, and copies of papers carried over by him, signed by us, for your further satisfaction in particulars; but do most humbly and heartily beseech you, as you are men of bowels and charity, to assist this gentleman how best you can to secure us from the common danger, and that we may peaceably live obeying His Majesty, and the laws, doing injury to no man, nor wishing it to any. Your interest here is now no argument worthy to engage you; the lives of thousands of innocent men, women, and children are at stake. If you can, and will not now afford your help to the utmost, we shall never be able to use a motive to induce you, or to prevail upon you. May the Lord send deliverance to us and preserve you in all peace and tranquillity, is the hearty prayer of

Gentlemen,
Your most obedient servants,
GEORGE PHILLIPS.
JOHN CAMPSIE.
SAMUEL NORMAN.
ALEXANDER TOMKINS.
MATTHEW COCKEN, &c.

Londonderry, December 10, 1688.

No. 2.—THE DECLARATION.

To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Citizens of Londonderry, send greeting. Having received intimation from several creditable persons that an insurrection of the Irish Papists was intended, and by them a general massacre of the Protestants in this Kingdom; and the same to be acted and perpetrated on or about the 9th of this instant (December) and being confirmed in our fear and jealousy of so horrible a design by many palpable insinuations, dubious expressions, monitory letters, and positive informations, all conducing and concurring to beget in us a trembling expectation of a sudden and inevitable ruin and destruction; we disposed ourselves to a patient and quiet resignation to the Divine Providence, hoping for some deliverance and diversion of this impending misery, or to receive from the hands of God such a measure of constancy and courage as might enable us to possess our souls in patience, and submissively to wait the issue of so severe a trial. Accordingly, when, on the fifth instant, part of the Earl of Antrim's forces advanced to take possession of this place, though we looked on ourselves as sheep appointed for slaughter, and on them as the executioners of vengeance on us, yet we contrived no other means of escape than by flight, and with all precipitation to hurry away our families into other places and countries. But it pleased God who watches over us, so to order things that when they were ready to enter the city, a great number of the younger, and some of the meaner sort of the inhabitants, ran hastily to the gates and shut them, loudly denying entrance to such guests, and obstinately refusing obedience to us. At first we were amazed at the enterprise, and apprehensive of the many ill circumstances and consequences, that might result from so rash an undertaking; but since that, having received repeated advertisements of the general design, and particular informations which may rationally induce us to believe it; and being credibly assured, that under the pretence of six companies to quarter amongst us, a vast swarm of Highland and Irish Papists were on the ways and roads approaching to us; that some of the Popish clergy in our neighbourhood had bought up arms and provided an unusual furniture of iron chains for bridles (whereof sixty were bespoke in one place), and some of them seized, and now in our custody; we began to consider it as an especial instance of God's mercy towards us, that we were not delivered over as a prey unto them, and that it pleased Him to stir up the spirits of the people so unexpectedly to provide for their and our common safety and preservation; wherefore we do declare and remonstrate to the world, that as we have resolved to stand upon our guards, and defend our walls, and not to admit of any Papist whatsoever to quarter amongst us, so we have firmly and sincerely determined to persevere in our duty and loyalty to our Sovereign Lord the King, without the least breach of mutiny, or seditious opposition to his royal commands. And since no other motives have prompted us to this resolution, but the preservation of our lives, and to prevent the plots and machinations of the enemies of the Protestant religion; we are encouraged to hope that the Government will vouchsafe a candid and favourable interpretation of our proceedings, and that all His Majesty's Protestant subjects will interpose with their prayers to God, their solicitations to the King, and their advice and assistance to us on this so extraordinary and immergent an occasion, which not only have an influence on the rest of the Kingdom, but may have a probable aspect towards the interest of the Protestant religion, and may deserve a favourable regard from all the professors thereof in His Majesty's dominions. God save the King.

No. 3.—THE LORD MOUNTJOY'S ARTICLES, WITH THE CITY OF DERRY, 21ST DECEMBER, 1688.

Articles of agreement indented, made, and concluded, by and between the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Mountjoy, Master of the Ordnance, and one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, of one part, and the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of Londonderry, in behalf of themselves and the inhabitants of the said City, and their adherents, of the other part, at Londonderry, this 21st of December, 1688.

1. That the said Lord Mountjoy shall with all possible expedition, and at furthest within fifteen days after the date hereof, procure a free and general pardon to all and every the inhabitants of the city, suburbs, and liberties of the city of Londonderry, and to all and every person and persons within the Province of Ulster, that have abetted and adhered unto them, for all matters and things relating to the late commotion and revolution in the said city; and for all offences done against the law, murder excepted, and all penalties thereby incident and incurred; the same to be perfected under the great seal, and delivered to the sheriffs

of the said city, or their order, within the time before limited and published by proclamation.

2. That until the said pardon be so perfected and delivered, no more or other soldiers shall be garrisoned in the said city, or quartered in the liberties thereof, except the two companies commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Lundy, and Captain William Stewart; and that whatsoever companies shall after that time, and until the first day of March next, be quartered in the said city and liberties, shall consist of one-half Protestants at the least.

3. That until the pardon be delivered as aforesaid, the inhabitants of the said city shall not be disturbed in keeping their guards and watches; and that no stranger or unknown person shall be permitted to come within the city, with fire-arms or swords, or to lodge within the gates all night, unless he be allowed by Colonel Lundy, and the two sheriffs.

4. That if at any time before the first of March next, the soldiers of the Lord Mountjoy's regiment shall by patent, or other order, be required to remove, the said Lord, or his officer commanding in chief, shall leave the said city free to their own guards and watches.

5. That if at any time any inhabitant or inhabitants of the said city and suburbs, shall desire to remove with his or their family and goods, he or they shall be freely permitted; and that the ships now in the harbour, or which shall be hereafter laden, shall not be stopped by any embargo; and if any ship or ships which have sailed from this port since the seventh day of this instant December, shall be arrested or stopped in any port or harbour within this kingdom, on account of the late commotion, the said ship or ships shall be immediately released.

6. That until the twenty-sixth day of March next, no soldiers of the Earl of Antrim's regiment shall be quartered in the city or liberties of Londonderry, to prevent all

animosities and disorders that may arise between them and the people.

7. That the Lord Mountjoy shall interpose with the commissioners of His Majesty's revenue on behalf of Warham Jemmet, Esq., and other officers of the customs, that no imputation or blame may remain on them, for the involuntary compliance with the people of Derry in the late commotion; and that his Lordship may be pleased to pardon William Hemsworth, clerk of the stores, and Alexander Watson, gunner, for the like offences.

8. That the two sons of the Lord Mountjoy now resident in Londonderry, shall remain in the said city, as pledges for the full and final performance of these articles.

9. That the said two companies commanded by Colonel Lundy and Captain Stewart shall be permitted to enter the city, and be quartered therein by the sheriffs of the said city, whensoever the Lord Mountjoy shall appoint it, and the keys of the gates and magazine delivered to his order.

10. That in the meantime all arms taken out of His Majesty's stores shall be gathered, and, after the pardon delivered as aforesaid, shall be returned to the clerk of the stores fixed and in good order. The inhabitants of the said city nowise doubting or mistrusting, that since their undertaking and late actions took their rise from self-preservation, and to avoid imminent danger, they shall be absolved before God and the world from all tincture of rebellion, perverseness and wilful disobedience to the King's authority, and the established laws of the land.

No. 4.—By the Lord Deputy and Council.—
A Proclamation.

Tyrconnel.

Forasmuch as several persons in the Province of Ulster and town of Sligo, in this His Majesty's kingdom, have entered into several Associations, containing no less offence than high treason; and thereupon formed themselves into several parties, dividing and marshalling themselves into several regiments, troops, and companies, marching well armed up and down the country, to the great terror of the King's liege people, in manifest breach of the law and of the peace of this realm: And having resolved within ourselves to prevent the effusion of blood, as long as it was possible, by using all peaceable means to reduce the said malefactors to their obedience, have of late issued out a Proclamation setting forth the said disorders, requiring all the said parties to disperse, and repair to their several habitations and callings, assuring every of them of His Majesty's pardon and protection: And whereas we see the said offenders, instead of complying with our said Proclamation, still do persist in their wickedness by continuing in actual rebellion, breaking of prisons, and discharging of prisoners secured by due course of law for robberies, felonies, and other heinous crimes; by seizing upon His Majesty's arms and ammunition, imprisoning several of His Majesty's army, disarming and dismounting them; killing and murdering several of His Majesty's subjects, pillaging and plundering the country, and daily committing several other acts of hostility: And finding no other way to suppress the said rebellion, We, the Lord Deputy, have caused a party of His Majesty's army, under the command of Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton, to march into the Province of Ulster, to reduce the rebels there by force of arms, the consequence whereof cannot but be very fatal to that country and the inhabitants thereof, and will inevitably occasion the total ruin and destruction of that part of His Majesty's kingdom: The consideration whereof has given us great disquiet and trouble of mind, that a country well planted and inhabited should now, by the insolency and traitorous wickedness of its own inhabitants, be brought to ruin and desolation, which we are still willing to prevent, if any spark of grace be yet remaining in the hearts of those conspirators; hereby declaring, notwithstanding the many affronts by them put upon His Majesty's Government, notwithstanding the several acts of hostility by them hitherto committed, that if they will now submit and become dutiful subjects, His Majesty's mercy shall be extended to them, excepting the persons hereafter excepted:

And in order thereunto, We, the Lord Deputy and Council, do strictly charge and command all such persons in arms in Ulster or the town of Sligo forthwith to lay down their arms, and that the principal persons among them now in the North, do forthwith repair to Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton, and deliver up to him their arms and serviceable horses, and to give him hostages as an assurance of their future loyalty and obedience to His Majesty, and that all their adherents do deliver up their arms and serviceable horses to such person or persons as he, the said Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton, shall appoint to receive them.

And we do also further charge and command all the principal persons of other commotions and insurrections in Sligo, to repair forthwith either to us, the Lord Deputy, or to Colonel Macdonald at the Boyle, and to deliver up their arms and serviceable horses, and to give hostages as security for their future peaceable deportment; and their adherents to lay down their arms, to be delivered up together with their serviceable horses to the said Colonel Macdonald; We, the Lord Deputy, hereby giving safe conduct to such of them as will submit according to this our Proclamation.

And we do hereby further declare, that such of the said persons as shall give obedience to these our commands, except the persons hereafter excepted, shall have His Majesty's PROTECTION and PARDON for all past offences relating to the said commotions and insurrections; but in case they shall be so unhappy as to persist in their wicked designs and treasonable practices, We, the Lord Deputy, do hereby command all His Majesty's forces to fall upon them wherever they meet them, and to treat them as Rebels and Traitors to His Majesty.

Yet to the end the innocent may not suffer for the crimes of the nocent, and that the committals of inhuman acts may be prevented, We do hereby strictly charge and command His Majesty's army now upon their march to the North, and all other His Majesty's forces, that they or either of them do not presume to use any violence to women, children, aged or decrepid men, labourers, ploughmen, tillers of the ground, or to any other who in these commotions demean themselves inoffensively, without joining with the Rebels, or aiding or assisting them in their traitorous actings or behaviours.

But in regard, Hugh Earl of Mount-Alexander, John Lord Viscount of Massareene, Robert Lord Baron of Kingston, Clotworthy Skeffington, Esq., son to the Lord Viscount Massareene, Sir Robert Colville, Sir Arthur Rawdon, Sir John Magill, John Hawkins, Robert Sanderson, and Francis Hamilton, son to Sir Charles Hamilton, have been the principal actors in the said Rebellion, and the persons who advised and fomented the same, and inveigled others to be involved therein, We think fit to except them out of this Proclamation, as persons not deserving His Majesty's mercy or favour.

Given at the Council Chamber of Dublin, March 7, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

A. FYTTON, C. WILL. TALBOT.
GRANARD. THO. NEWCOMEN.
LIMERICK. RICH. HAMILTON.
BELLEW. FRAN. PLOWDEN.*

No. 5.—THE KING'S LETTER TO IRELAND, BY CAPT. LEIGHTON.

Having received an account from Captain Leighton of what he was intrusted to represent to us, in relation to the condition of the Protestants in Ireland, we have directed him to assure you in our name, how sensibly we are affected with the hazards you are exposed to, by the illegal power the Papists have of late usurped in that kingdom, and that we are resolved to employ the most speedy and effectual means in our power, to rescue you from the oppressions and terrors you lie under; that in the meantime we do well approve of the endeavours we understand you are using to put yourself into a posture of defence, that you may not be surprised—wherein you may expect all the encouragements and assistance that can be given you from hence. And because we are persuaded that there are even of the Romish Communion many who are desirous to live peaceably, and do not approve of the violent and arbitrary proceedings of some who pretend to be in authority; and we, thinking it just to make distinctions of persons, according to their behaviour and deserts, do hereby authorize you to promise in our name to all such who shall demean themselves hereafter peaceably and inoffensively, our protection, and exemption from those pains and forfeitures, which those only shall incur who are the maintainers and abettors of the said illegal authority, assumed and continued contrary to law, or who shall act anything to the prejudice of the Protestant interest, or the disturbance of the public peace in that kingdom. And for further particulars we refer you to the report you shall receive from Captain Leighton (who hath acquitted himself with fidelity and diligence in your concerns), of the sincerity of our intentions towards you. And so we recommend you to the protection of Almighty God.

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* From Leslie's *Answer to King*, App. No. 5.

Given at St. James's,
the 10th day of Feb. 168$\frac{8}{9}$. Wm. H. Orange.
To the Earl of Mount-Alexander, to be communicated to the Protestant nobility and gentry in the North of Ireland.
By His Highness's command. William Jephson.

No. 6.—Mr. Hamilton's Instructions.

Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved James Hamilton, Esq., appointed by us to carry arms and other provisions of war to the town of Londonderry, in our Kingdom of Ireland.

William R.

You are to receive into your charge, as soon as they shall be put on shipboard, the arms, ammunition, and stores of war, which we have directed to be sent to Ireland, with a commission and instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy, and the sum of one thousand pounds, which we have ordered the officers of the customs and excise at Chester to pay unto you, to be delivered by you to the said Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy, who is to dispose thereof for the necessary occasions of that garrison. And you are to take care, that the ship in which the said arms and stores of war shall be laden, do not leave the English coast without the convoy of a frigate, which we have appointed to accompany the said ship to the said town of Londonderry. And at your arrival with the said ships upon or near the coasts of Ireland, you are, if you see convenient, to deliver fifty barrels of powder to any officer commissioned by us within the county of Down or thereabouts, in order to the better defence of those parts, taking the receipt of the said officer for the same. And you are, as soon as may be, to inform yourself in the best manner, at what distance the enemy shall be at that time from Londonderry; and with what safety the said arms and provisions of war may be put on shore, at or near that place, and secured within the said town for the use and defence of the Protestants against the Papists, according to your directions in that behalf; and in case the same may be done without apparent danger, you are to proceed accordingly in the execution thereof, and to deliver the said commission and instructions, money, arms, and stores, to the said Lieutenant-

Colonel Lundy, or to the commander-in-chief of the said town, taking his receipt for the same; provided, nevertheless, that before you deliver the said commission, instructions, money, arms, and stores of war to the said Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy, or the commander-in-chief of the said town, you first cause him to take the oaths herewith sent, on board the ship wherein you shall arrive there, in the presence of the mayor, or chief civil magistrate of Londonderry. But if he shall refuse the said oaths or any one of them, or that you shall find the approach to the said town difficult, and the landing or delivery of the said arms and stores insecure, you are then not to land the said stores, or part with the said commission, instructions, and money; but to cause them to be brought back on board the said ship, under the same convoy, to some port in England; whereupon notice thereof being given to us, we shall signify our further orders thereupon, and for so doing, &c.

Given, &c., Whitehall,
the 22nd of February, 1688.
By His Majesty's command,
SHREWSBURY.

No. 7.—INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. DAVID CAIRNS.

You are, with what convenient speed you can, forthwith to repair to Londonderry, in the kingdom of Ireland.

At your arrival there you are to acquaint the Governor and magistrates of the said city, of His Majesty's great care and concern for their security, which he hath shown not only in sending thither at this time men, arms, and ammunition, but in the further great preparations he is making, as well for the particular defence of that place, as for the safety and protection of that whole kingdom.

You are particularly to inform yourself of the present condition of Londonderry, both as to men, arms, and ammunition, and whether the country thereabout can be able to furnish provisions for a greater force intended to be sent thither without carrying provisions from England; an exact account whereof you are to bring yourself with the best speed you can, or to send it with the first conveniency to me, or to the Committee of Council appointed for Irish affairs.

You are to get the best informations you can, what force the enemy has, as well horse as foot; in what condition the troops are and how armed, and what care is taken for their subsistence, whether by providing magazines and stores, or by trusting to the provisions they shall find where they march.

You are to inquire what new levies have been made, of horse, foot, or dragoons, by those colonels who had their commissions sent them some time since by Captain Layton, of what numbers they are, and how disposed of.

Given at the Court of Whitehall,
this 11th day of March, 1688-9.

Shrewsbury.

No. 8.—Orders and Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved John Cunningham, Esq., Colonel of one of our regiments of foot, and upon his death or absence, to Col. Solomon Richards, or to the officer in chief, with the regiments whereof they are Colonels.

William R.

You are without delay to repair to the quarters of the regiment under your command, and take care that it be in a readiness to march to Liverpool at such a time as you shall appoint.

Whereupon you are to go to Liverpool, and to enquire what ships there are in that port appointed to carry over the two regiments, whereof you and Solomon Richards are Colonels, to the town of Londonderry; and whether the frigate ordered for their convoy be arrived there; and as soon as the said ships and frigate shall be in a readiness to sail, and fitted with all provisions necessary for the sustenance of the said regiments in their passage to the said town, and for their return from thence, if there be occasion.—You are to cause Col. Richards' regiment to go on board, and at the same time to order the regiment whereof you are Colonel to march to Liverpool and to embarque with all speed.

And whereas, we have ordered one thousand arms to be carried to Liverpool, you are to cause such a number of the said arms as shall be wanting in the said regiments to be delivered unto them, and the residue of the said arms and stores now there to be put on shipboard, and carried to Londonderry, to be there employed for our service as the Governor of the said town and you shall think fit.

And we having also directed the sum of two thousand pounds sterling to be paid unto you at Chester, by Matthew Anderton, Esq., collector of our customs there, you are hereby authorised and required to receive the same, and to dispose of the said sum towards the necessary subsistence of the said regiments, and for the defence of the place, in repairing and providing what shall be defective therein, and to such other uses as you with the Governor of the said city, with whom you are to entertain a good correspondence and friendship, shall find necessary for our service; of all which expenses you shall give us an account by the first opportunity.

When the particulars necessary for the voyage shall be fully complied with, you are then, wind and weather permitting, with the regiments under your command to make the best of your way to Londonderry, and being arrived there, or near that place, you are to make enquiry, whether the said city be yet in the hands of the Protestants; and whether you may with safety put our said regiments into the same; and in that case you are to immediately acquaint Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Lundy, our Governor thereof, or the Commander-in-Chief for the time being, with our care in sending those regiments and stores; and for the further relief of our Protestant subjects in those parts, and delivering him our letters and orders to him directed, you are to land the said regiments and stores, and to take care that they be well quartered and disposed of in the said city, following such directions as you shall receive during your stay there from our said Governor Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Lundy, in all things relating to our service.

You are to assure the Governor and inhabitants of Londonderry, of further and great succours of men, arms, money, and provisions of war coming speedily from England for their relief, and the security of those parts, and in the mean time you are to make the best defence you can against all persons that shall attempt to besiege the said city, or to annoy our Protestant subjects within the same.

You are to give us an account soon after your arrival (and so from time to time), of the condition of the place, the fortifications, number, quality, and affection of the people, soldiers, and others therein, or in the country thereabouts, and what quantity of provisions of all sorts for horse and foot and dragoons, shall or may be brought up and secured in those parts for our service, without the necessity of bringing any from England, upon sending more forces thither.

You are to inform us whether Captain James Hamilton be arrived at Londonderry, and how he has disposed of the money and stores committed to his charge: and in general you are to return to us an account of everything, which you in your discretion shall think requisite for our service.

In case you shall find it unsafe to land the regiments at or near Londonderry, so as to put them into the town, which you are to endeavour by all reasonable and prudent means; you are not to expose them to extraordinary hazard in so doing, but to take care that they be carried in the same ships and under the same convoy, with the arms, stores, money, and provisions above mentioned, to Carrickfergus, and to endeavour the landing of them there, if the same may be done with safety, or otherwise to Strangford, at both or either of which places you are to use the same caution, and to follow as near as may be the like directions as are now given you in relation to Londonderry; but in case you do not find it for our service to land the said regiments at any of the said places, you are then to take care that they be brought back to the port of Liverpool, giving us speedy notice for our further orders.

Given at our Court at Whitehall,
this 12th day of March, 1688-9.
By His Majesty's command,
SHREWSBURY.

In the first year of our reign.

WILLIAM R.

Additional Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved Colonel John Cunningham, or the officer-in-chief with our two regiments of foot, whereof he and Colonel Richards are Colonels.

Whereas we have ordered £2,000 sterling to be paid unto you by several bills of exchange, over and above the £2,000 you shall receive from our collector in the port of Chester; you are accordingly to receive the same; and upon your arrival at our city of Londonderry, to pay £500 thereof to our trusty and well-beloved Robert Lundy, Esquire, Governor thereof, as of our royal bounty, in part of the reward we intend him for his faithful services, and the residue of the said £2,000, you are to employ towards the defraying the contingent charges which our said Governor, yourself, and Colonel Richards, shall find requisite for the security of the garrison, or of such other place where our said regiments shall arrive, or be put on shore; provided always that you do not in any manner put off or delay the departure of our said two regiments from Liverpool to Londonderry, in case the said sum be not immediately paid unto you by the respective persons from whom it is to be received.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 14th of March, 1688-9, in the first year of our reign.

By His Majesty's command,

SHREWSBURY.

No. 9.—Proposals of Articles to be made to the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Hamilton, by the Governors, Commanders, Officers, Soldiers, and Citizens, of the City and Garrison of Londonderry, the 11th of July, 1689.

Imprimis, that all persons, as well officers and soldiers, clergymen and laymen, as others, that now are in the said city, or have been in the same since the 7th of December last, or that have borne arms against His Majesty King James the Second, in the provinces of Ulster or Connaught, or either of them, or that have been abetting, counselling, advising, or in any ways assisting them, or any of them, or any way deemed of that party, shall be pardoned and forgiven until the 26th day of July instant, of and from all treasons, rebellions, robberies, felonies, and other offences whatsoever, by them or any of them committed against his said Majesty, or any person or persons whatsoever. And that such of the said persons now alive, or which shall be alive the said 26th day of July, and the heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns of such of them that are dead, or shall before that time be killed or die, shall be immediately restored to all their personal and real estates, as if they or any of them had never taken up arms, or committed any offence against his said Majesty, or any other person or persons whatsoever: and that they and every one of them shall and may have, hold, and enjoy their said estates, with other their rights, liberties, and privileges, notwithstanding any act or acts by them committed or done, or to be committed or done against his said Majesty, or any other person or persons whatsoever, until the 26th of July instant: and that they, their heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, shall have their estates, personal and real, put in their actual possession immediately after the said 26th of July instant; and that from the date hereof there shall no waste or harm be committed, suffered, or done on any of their lands, inheritances, possessions, woods, farm, houses, mills, barns, kilns, stables, or other houses, or on any of their corns, and other goods and chattels.

2. That all ecclesiastical persons of the Protestant religion within the said provinces shall immediately have the possession of their several churches, chapels, tithes, and other ecclesiastical dues, and enjoy the same as they did before the 7th day of December last; and that all other Protestants, as well ministers as others, shall from the said 26th of July instant, have the full and free benefit and exercise of their religion, as they had before the said 7th of December.

3. That all persons whatsoever now in Londonderry shall have free liberty to depart this kingdom for England or Scotland; and those that are willing to remain in this kingdom shall have safe conducts to Dublin, or any other part in Ireland, with their goods and chattels; and those that have a mind to transport themselves by the shipping under the power of the said King, or by other English or Scottish ships, shall have passports from time to time allowed them, and liberty of boats from England or Scotland to transport them.

4. That all persons to be pardoned that please shall transport and carry with them their goods and chattels, unless

they have a mind to sell them here, and that then they may have liberty to dispose of them to the best advantage; and likewise those that depart the kingdom shall be put in possession of their goods and chattels, lands and tenements, by their attorneys which they formerly enjoyed, and reprisals of goods and chattels if not to be found in specie.

5. That such persons, men, women, and children, as are not able to travel to their respective habitations, shall have a sufficient competency of provisions to maintain them until they be able to depart, and get to their several dwellings; and that all officers and soldiers that are sick or wounded now in the garrison of Londonderry, or shall be there the 26th of July instant, shall have the same allowance and provision, and as great care taken for their recovery as those of the said King's army; and that from time to time they shall be sent into England or Scotland, or to any part in Ireland as they shall think fit, and conveniency shall offer, with provisions and safe passes.

6. That all persons here designed to be pardoned shall have reprisals of their goods and chattels immediately after the said 26th of July instant, given them by the said Lieutenant-General; and until they shall be so reprised, they shall have sufficient provisions of meat, drink, and bedding allowed and given them.

7. That no person or persons hereby designed to be pardoned shall be forced to take any oath to His Majesty, but those that voluntarily enter into his service, in the army, or shall take on him some office or place of trust, nor shall they be compelled to enter into His Majesty's service.

8. That if any prince or state shall land an army in this kingdom against the said King, the persons hereby designed to be pardoned, and which shall remain in the same, shall not be molested anyways in body, goods, or estate, they not taking up arms against His Majesty.

9. That no person or persons hereby designed to be pardoned shall hereafter be sued, arrested, impleaded, or imprisoned at the suit of the King, for any debt due to His Majesty before the date hereof. And that none of the persons aforesaid hereafter shall be sued, arrested, impleaded, or imprisoned for any wounding, maiming, trespassing, taking of goods or chattels, or for any other cause whatsoever accrued, or that shall accrue, before the said 26th of July, by any party or person whatsoever, other than for debt, and not for debt for twelve months from the date hereof; and that His Majesty shall not call for, or receive any of his crown rents, quit-rents, hearth money, excise, or license of wine, ale, beer, strong waters, due, or which shall fall due unto him by any of the persons aforesaid, before the said 26th of July.

10. That no interest of money shall be allowed or paid, from the 1st of May, 1688, until the 1st of November, 1690, and then but a moderate interest, and not according to the rate of ten pound per cent. per annum.

11. That the officers and gentlemen hereby designed to be pardoned shall all remain in this kingdom, and each one of them, with a servant, shall have liberty to keep and wear pistols and swords, and keep their fuzees, without molestation, and the citizens and townsmen to have the like liberty; and that the rest of the people may keep their swords, and wear them.

12. That the said half-pike men, and rabble of the mere Irish in the said provinces, be disarmed, and care taken that they kill not, rob, or spoil the Protestants in the said provinces; and that they be sent to their habitations, and not suffered to cotier or wander in the country, or use reproachful language to the Protestants.

13. That all troops and companies, now in the city of Londonderry, which please shall have liberty to depart, either by land or water, to Culmore, or any port near the

same for conveniency of shipping, and that with their arms, colours flying, drums beating, lighted matches, and a suitable quantity of ammunition, there to ship or embark; and shall before their departure deliver up to the said Lieutenant-General, or to such whom he shall appoint for His Majesty's use, the possession of the said city, with all stores, ammunition, artillery and other habiliments of war other than the arms hereinbefore excepted.

14. That all and every person and persons whatsoever, that have taken the possession of the lands, houses, farms, of the persons hereby designed to be pardoned, shall immediately quit the possession of the same, and restore them to the owners or their agents and assigns, with their goods and chattels now in their possession; and that the said owners, their agents, and assigns, may cut and carry home their corn and hay.

15. That all the said articles and conditions, or such of them as shall be thought needful, by those that are designed to be pardoned, shall within
be confirmed by act of parliament, to be passed in this kingdom, or by the King, under the great seal of Ireland.

Provided always, that no person or persons, now in arms against the King, in or about Enniskillen, Ballyshannon, Donegal, or Killybegs, that will accept of these or the like articles, before the said 26th day of July, [but] shall have the benefit of them, they or their chief commanders having eight days' notice of these articles before the said 26th of July, by having delivered to them copies of them, which are to be sent them by the said Lieutenant-General, by some of his party, and some of this garrison.

16. That a convenient number of persons be appointed as commissioners in this city, and in each county of the said provinces, before the 26th of July, by the said Lieutenant-General and the Governors, commanders, officers, and soldiers

of this garrison, with sufficient authority, to see these articles made good and performed.

17. That hostages be given by the said Lieutenant-General to the garrison of Derry, to be kept there, or on board of the English ships, now in the river Foyle, viz.

And for the garrison of Derry

to be given as hostages, and kept in their camp, or at Strabane, Lifford, or Raphoe.

18. That during the time of treaty, and until the said 26th day of July, if in the mean time no army shall come to relieve the city, there shall be a cessation of arms between the besiegers and the besieged, and that no acts of hostility shall be committed by either side, provided that none of either party, but such as shall have licenses, shall come within the lines of the other.

19. That as well the persons that are in this garrison, or shall be there the 26th of July, as shall embark or ship for England or Scotland, as those that go to the country, shall at their departure hence, have horses and boats allowed them, for carrying the officers, sick men, women and children home to their several habitations, or places whither they have a mind to resort.

Provided always, that these articles shall not be binding on either party, in case the said city shall be relieved by the English or some other army before the said 26th day of July; and if it shall be so relieved, that then the said hostages delivered on both sides, shall be delivered to each other in safety.

No. 10.—The Commission.

To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come; know ye, that we the Governors, Commanders, Officers, Soldiers, and Citizens, now in the city and garrison of Londonderry, have nominated, constituted, appointed and authorized, and by these presents do nominate, constitute, appoint and authorize Colonel Hugh Hamil, Colonel Thomas Lance, Captain Robert White, Captain William Dobbin, Matthew Cockens, Esq., and Mr. John Mackenzie, as commissioners for us, and in our name to repair to, and treat with the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton, now encamped against Londonderry, with an army of His Majesty's King James the Second, besieging the said city and garrison, or to somewhere near the said camp and city, or to Colonel Dominick Sheldon, Colonel Gordon O'Neal, Sir Neal O'Neal, Sir Edward Vaudry, Lieutenant-Colonel Skelton, and Captain Francis Marow, Commissioners nominated, constituted, appointed, and authorized by the said Lieutenant-General Hamilton, and there to treat with him or them, concerning the rendering up of the said city and garrison, to the said Lieutenant-General, for His Majesty's use, with all the stores, ammunition, artillery, arms, implements, and habiliments of war, according to the annexed instructions and articles, and such other instructions and articles as you shall from time to time have from us; and on such other articles, matters, and things, as shall be proposed to you our said commissioners, by the said Lieutenant-General, or by his said commissioners. And on such treaty to conclude on such articles, matters, and things, for the delivering up of the said city, to the said Lieutenant-General, or whom he shall appoint, with the said stores, ammunition, artillery, arms, implements and habiliments of war, for His Majesty's use; and for the giving and receiving of hostages, for the performance of what shall be stipulated and agreed upon; and the same to reduce into writing, and sign and seal, and to receive the same signed and sealed by the said Lieutenant-General or the said Commissioners for us and in our behalf. And what articles, matters, and things you shall agree upon, and reduce into writing, and sign and seal for us and on our behalf, we by these presents bind and oblige ourselves to observe, keep, and perform entirely; in witness whereof, we hereunto put our hands and seals, at Londonderry, the 12th day of July, 1689.

Signed and delivered in the presence of

Francis Hamilton.
Robert Cochrane.

James Young.
Stephen Herd.
David Ross.
Robert Wallace.
Christophilus Jenny.
Arthur Noble.
Adam Downey.
Arch. Hamilton.
Henry Arkwright.
Thomas Ash.
Theophilus Morrison.
William Ragston.
William Hamilton.
Warren Godfrey.
George Holmes.
John Henderson.
Hercules Burleigh.

George Walker.
John Mitchelburn.
Richard Crofton.
Adam Murray.
Henry Monro.
Stephen Miller.
Alexander Stewart.
John Crooks.
William Campbell.
William Draper.
James Graham.
John Cochrane.
Francis Obrey.
John Crofton.
John Thompson.
William Mure.
Richard Alpin.

No. 11.—Daniel Eccles, of Clones, to Enniskillen.

Gentlemen,—Passing all compliments of thanks, we are so assured that two companies of foot are marching to Enniskillen, that Captain Nugent with other officers are in Clones this night on their march thither; but as for their soldiers, though they were expected there, it's thought they will go by Newtonbutler, and it's supposed they are in Drum. We pray God bless you, and can only tell you, that a troop of dragoons came to Armagh Saturday last, where the inhabitants offered them candle, fire, and salt, so that if they expected any further necessaries, they were to pay beforehand, whereupon the Lieutenant marched to his Captain, Col.

Bryan MacMahon at Charlemont, and the townsmen went to church with their arms, of which two sentinels were placed on the steeple, to fire their firelocks and ring the bells, as a signal to the country, if they had offered anything ill; of which we had no further account.

As to what other things you propose, assure yourselves, we shall be as ready to offer all testimony of friendship, as may be expected from such as are not wanting to pray for you, and are expecting a particular correspondence from you, as you shall have from us," &c.

No. 12.—Dane to MacCarmick.

Dear Sir,—Mr. Latournall came just now from Captain Corry, and in his coming into the town commanded the carpenters to leave off working at the drawbridge, and also came to me and begged I should send for my brethren, and dissuade them from the resolution of denying the soldiers entrance, and to provide them quarters as speedily as I could. My request to you is, that you will immediately give the gentlemen in these parts an account of my design, which is to give them entrance, and that you will make all the haste you can home to assist me, is all from

Yours to serve you whilst I am

Enniskillen, Dec. 13th, 1688. Paul Dane.

To Mr. William MacCarmick, *These.*

No. 13.—Letter from Belfast to Lord Blayney.

My Lord,—We herewith send you a copy of the Capitulation betwixt Lord Mountjoy and the City of Derry, whereupon that place was put into the hands of Lieut.-Col. Lundy. We also send your Lordship a narrative of what passed betwixt my Lord Mountjoy and a gentleman we intrusted from hence, to manage both with his Lordship and the city; by all which your Lordship may perceive, that Lord Mountjoy proposeth managing the Protestant interest by less hazardous means than was intended, and we are unwilling to suspect his Lordship's sincerity, and think it may be prejudicial to us as yet to thwart his Lordship. Whereupon, we think it most advisable for us to defer putting anything in execution till a new notice is given, and that in the meantime we may take care that his Lordship be discovered herein, and we thereby judge what are the measures most proper for us to subdue. We believe your Lordship hath wrote to Lord Granard and Lord Kingston, and we now desire that you will, with the utmost speed, give them and other our friends intimation of this our altering our resolutions with the motives thereunto. We also desire that you would acquaint Lord Granard, that we do however rely so much on him, that if he judges our method best, and either hath or will make any step towards countenancing thereof, so as to think his honour in the least engaged, that we will all unanimously stand by him. Your Lordship perceives, that it is likewise intended, that Enniskillen submit as Derry hath done. We refer it to your Lordship to consider if means ought to be used, that they at least delay so doing, and for your Lordship to act therein or prevent it as you think fit, &c.

Belfast, Dec. 26.*

No. 14.—COMMISSION FROM ENNISKILLEN TO HAMILTON AND CATHCART.

To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, We, Gustavus Hamilton, Esq., elected Governor of Enniskillen, in the County of Fermanagh, and Kingdom of Ireland, together with the Inhabitants of the said town, and a select number of Protestants united to them, send greeting in our Lord God everlasting. Forasmuch as we have drawn and signed an Address of Thanks, to be presented to His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, for his being the happy instrument under God, of our delivery from Popery and arbitrary power; now know ye, that we the said Inhabitants of Enniskillen aforesaid, for divers causes and considerations us thereunto moving (but more especially that they have been eminent in concurring with us, and influencing the country against the designs the Lord Tyrconnel had against this place) have nominated, constituted, and appointed our well-beloved friends, Mr. Hugh Hamilton and Mr. Allen Cathcart, to solicit His Highness for arms and ammunition for this place. We also desire that credit may be given to these our deputies, both for our trust to them as also in their charactering this country.

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* *Further Account*, p. 12.

Given under the hand and seal of the Governor, this sixteenth day of January, One thousand six hundred eighty and eight [nine] by unanimous consent of the Inhabitants of said Town.

GUSTAVUS HAMILTON.*

No. 15.—APPOINTMENT OF COUNCIL FOR NORTH-EAST.

It being notoriously known, not only to the Protestants of the Northern Counties, but to those throughout this whole Kingdom of Ireland, that the public peace of this nation is now in great and imminent danger, and that it is absolutely necessary for the Protestants to agree within their several counties in some method, besides those ordinarily appointed by the laws, for their own defence and the preserving as much as in them lies the public peace of the nation, which is so much endeavoured to be disturbed by Popish and illegal Counsellors and their abettors. And for that, unity, secrecy, and despatch are necessary to the effecting of the said design, therefore, we the persons hereunder subscribing our names, do in behalf of ourselves and Protestant tenants, authorize and empower Sir Arthur Rawdon, Baronet, Sir Robert Colvil, James Hamilton of Newcastle, John Hawkins, and James Hamilton of Tullamore, Esq., or any three of them, to assemble at such time and place, and as oft as they shall think fit, and to consult, advise, and determine of all matters which relate to the public peace of this County and Kingdom. And we the said persons hereunto subscribing our names, Protestants in the County of Down, do hereby engage for ourselves, and, as far as in us lies, our tenants aforesaid, to perform and execute all such orders, commands, and directions, as shall from time to time be made public, or given by the said persons or any three of them as aforesaid. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names, this 17th of January, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

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* *Hamilton's Actions*, p. 56.

M.
J. H. &c.

In witness of the acceptance of the above trust, we have hereunto put our hands.

A. R.
R. C.
J. H.
J. H.
J. H.*

No. 16.—APPOINTMENT OF COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

By the Council of Five of the Counties of Down and Antrim, pursuant to a trust reposed in them by the Nobility and Gentry of said Counties.

Having an entire confidence of the conduct, valour, and fidelity of the Right Hon. Hugh, Earl of Mount-Alexander, We do hereby empower his Lordship to command all such forces as shall from time to time be raised by us, and other the Inhabitants of the said Counties of Down and Antrim, for preserving the public peace of the said Counties and other parts of this Kingdom in these distracted times, wherein no lawful Government is established in the Kingdom of Ireland. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this 18th day of January, $168\frac{8}{9}$.

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* *Further Account*, p. 19.

Antrim, A. R. R. C. J. H.
Down, J. H. J. H.*

No. 17.—The Oath of the Private Soldiers at Enniskillen.

I, D. H., do hereby testify and declare, and upon the Holy Evangelists swear, that I will own and acknowledge Gustavus Hamilton, Esq., Chief Governor of this town of Enniskillen, and shall give due obedience to him and my superior officers in all his and their commands, and shall to the uttermost of my power and ability, defend him, them, and this place, with the country adjacent, together with the Protestant religion and interest, with my life and fortune, against all that shall endeavour to subvert the same. So help me God, and the holy contents of this book.

No. 18.—Derry Address to King William.

To the Most Excellent Majesty of William and Mary, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, &c.

The humble Address of the Governors, Officers, Clergy, and other Gentlemen, in the City and Garrison of Londonderry.

We the most dutiful and loyal subscribers of this Address (out of a deep sense of our late miserable estate and condition), do hereby return our due acknowledgments to Almighty God, and to your sacred Majesty, and, under you, to the undefatigable care of Major-General Kirk, for our unexpected relief by sea, in spite of all the opposition of our industrious, but bloody and implacable enemies; which relief was no less wonderfully than seasonably conveyed to us, and that at the very nick of time, when we (who survived many thousands that died here of famine during the siege, were just ready to be cut off, and perish, by the hands of barbarous, cruel, and inhuman wretches; who no sooner saw us delivered, and that they could not compass their wicked designs against this your Majesty's city, and our lives (for which they thirsted), immediately set all the country around us on fire, after having plundered, robbed, and stripped all the Protestants therein, as well those persons they themselves granted protections to, as others; we do therefore most sincerely rejoice with all our souls, and bless God for all His singular and repeated mercies and deliverances; and do for ever adore the Divine Providence for your Majesties' rightful and peaceable accession to the Imperial Crown of these Kingdoms (the proclaiming of which was justly celebrated in these parts with universal joy); and we do with all humble submission present to your sacred Majesty our unfeigned loyalty, the most valuable tribute we can give, or your Majesty receive from us. And since the same Providence has (through much difficulty) made us so happy as to be your subjects, we come in the like humility to lay ourselves entirely at your royal feet, and do most heartily and resolvedly offer and engage our lives and fortunes to your service. And further, we do most unanimously join in a firm and unchangeable vow and resolution of improving all occasions of becoming serviceable to your Majesty, in what station soever it shall please God and your Majesty to place us; and will expose ourselves to all hazards and extremities to serve your Majesty against the common enemy. From all which promises, vows, and services, we and every of us promise (without any exception or reserve) not to recede unto our lives' end. In testimony of all which, we have hereunto subscribed our names at Londonderry this 29th day of July, Anno Dom. 1689 :—

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* *Further Account*, p. 21.

George Walker.
John Mitchelburne.
Richard Crofton.
Thomas Lane.
Hugh Hamill.
Charles Kinaston.
William Campbell.
Gervase Squire.
Henry Monro.
Henry Campsie.
Adam Morrow.
John Dobbin.
Alexander Stewart.
Thomas Gughtredge.
Thomas Johnston.
Thomas Newcomen.
Edward Davyes.
John Hamilton.
Thomas Ash.
Robert Boyd.
Ralph Fullerton.
Michael Cunningham.
Joseph Johnston.
Robert Bayley.
William Grove.
John M'Clelland.
James Graham.
William Thompson.
James Young.
Richard Cormack.
Oliver Apton.
Alex. Knox.
Patt. Moore.
John Humes.
Robert Dennison.
Marmaduke Stewart.
James Fleming.
Andrew Grigson.
Christopher Jenny.
Thomas Smyth.
Bartholomew Black.
John Campbell.
Robert Morgan.
Michael Clenaghan.
Richard Fane.
Stephen Godfrey.
William Hamilton.
Robert Rogers.
James Galtworth.
Richard Islen.
Arthur Hamilton.
Michael Bullack.
James Stiles.
James Cunningham.
Archibald M'Culloch.
Francis Obre.
Alexander Sanderson.
Archibald Sanderson.
Arthur Noble.
Philip Dunbarr.
George White.
Thomas White.
Ja. Gladstanes.
John Maghlin.
James Tracy.
John Halshton.
Joseph Gordon.
James Hairs.
Andrew Hamilton.
Adam Ardock.
Robert Wallace.
George Church.
Richard Flemin.
Henry Cust.

John Crofton.
Benjamin Wilkins.
Thomas Lane.
James Blair.
Dudley Phillips.
John Buchanan.
Edward Curling.
William Church.
Dalway Clements.
Albert Hall.
Matthew Cocken.
Thomas Brunett.
William Stewart.
Franc Wilson.
Matthew M'Clellany.
George Crofton.
William Babington.
Robert King.
John Logan.
Alexander Rankin.
Edmund Rice.
Robert Walker.
James M'Carmick.
John Cochran.
James M'Carthy.
Warren Godfrey.
John Cunningham.
Henry Lane.
George Walker.
—— Hamrston.
Andrew Baily.
Daniel Mons. Cuistion.
John Baily.
Robert Lyndsie.
Francis Boyd.
James Carr.
William Montgomery.
James Moore.
Nicholas White.
John Fuller.
Thomas Key.
Frederick Kye.
Thomas Baker.
John Hering.
James Hufton.
Adam Downing.
Abraham Hilhouse.
John Mulholland.
Robert Bennet.
William Dobbin.
George Garnet.
James Barrington.
Henry Pearse.
Alexander Ratliffe.
Thomas Odayre.
John Hamilton.
Henry-verett.
Daniel Fisher.
John Cross.
William Cross.
Bernard Mulhollan.
David Mulhollan.
Thomas Conlay.
Robert Skinner.
Richard Robinson.
Robert Maghlin.
Matthew Clarke.
John Clements.
William Manson.
Theophilus Manson.
James Manson.

No. 19.—Address From Enniskillen.

To their most Excellent Majesties King William and Queen Mary.

The humble Address of the Governor, Officers, Clergy, and other Inhabitants of your Majesties' Town of Enniskillen in your Majesties' Kingdom of Ireland.

We your Majesties' most faithful and most loyal Subjects, do in the first place offer up unto Almighty God our most humble thanks for the deliverance vouchsafed us from our merciless and bloody enemies; and next unto your most sacred Majesties for your gracious care taken of us, and in sending Major-General Kirk to the relief of the poor handful of your Majesties' Protestant subjects left in this place and Derry (whose miraculous holding out, under God, has been the preservation of the Protestant interest in this Kingdom), and for those worthy officers sent to this place by him; among which the honourable Colonel William Wolseley, our Commander-in-Chief, under whose great and happy conduct God has been pleased to bless us with the most signal and remarkable victory obtained over our enemy in this or the former age. And as we were early in the demonstration of our loyalty, in proclaiming your most sacred Majesties on the eleventh day of March last, so we shall persevere in the same dutiful allegiance to our lives' end, ever imploring the Divine Majesty to continue your prosperous reign, long and long over us, most humbly begging your most sacred Majesties favourably to accept this Address of our most humble and sincere obedience, which we shall ever be ready to make good both with our hearts and hands.

Gustavus Hamilton,
Governor.
Tho. Lloyd.
Tho. Hart.
Edw. Dixy.
Dan. Hodson.
W. Smith.
Morgan Hart.
Alex. Acheson.

Isaac Collyer.
George Dury.
Tho. White.
William Wiseheart.
Robert Moor.
Fran. Folliot.
John Dean.
Fran. Graham.
William Jivine.

Ja. Graham.
Thos. Roscrow.
Andrew Montgomery.
Daniel French.
Henry Smith.
Richard Newstead.
Robert Starling.
Henry Johnston.
Matthew Webster.
William Slack.
Allan Cathcart.
An. Hamilton.
James Johnston.
Ja. Golden.
Arnold Cosbye.
Jo. Price.
Robert Johnston.
Francis Aldrich.
William Parsons.
Ambrose Bedel.
H. Hughes.
Jason Hazard.
Tho. Hughes.
Ichabod Skelson.
Hen. Howel.
Robert Stevenson.
Thomas Johnston.
William Johnston.
Thomas Osborn.
Thomas Scot.
John Lowder.
William Kitle.
William Birney.
James King.
Jo. Rider.
Christopher Carleton.
Ja. Devitt.
Charles MacFayden.
Laurence Crow.
Edward Ellis.
William Blashford.
Robert Clark.
William Browning.
Ja. Johnston.
Ja. Browning.
Roger Wilton.
Ed. Wood.
F. King.
Robert Drury.
John Browning.
Ja. Campbell.
George Cashell.
Povey Hookes.
John Armstrong.
Toby Mulloy.
Robert Vaughan.
Robert Wear.
Malcome Cathcart.
Robert Robison.
James Matthews.
Mart. Armstrong.
Claud. Bealy.
Ninian Scot.
Tho. Armstrong.
Jo. Frisell.
Dan. Armstrong.
Matthew Young.
Marc. Buchanan.
George Wattson.
Ro. MacConnell.
Ja. Robison.
Jo. Roberts.
Ro. Ward.
Bar. Gibson.
Jo. Crozier.
Hu. Blair.
Jo. King.
Thomas Young.
John Fulton.
George Hart.
James Matthews.
Ja. Lucy.

Francis Ellis.
Hercules Ellis.
John Corry.
John Neper.
James Corry.
John Sherriffe.
George Corry.
Samuel Forth.
James Cathcart.
Edward Cosbye.
William MacCormick.
William Campbell.
Charles King.
Hugh Montgomery.
George Cooper.
Hu. Cathcart.
Hugh Corry.
Ed. Davenport.
Au. Ellis.
Jo. Woodward.
William Gore.
William Charleton.
George Russell.
Aylet Sommes.
Ja. Mitchell.
Mat. Lindsay.
Thomas Davenport.
All. Fulton.
Paul Dean, Provost.
Ja. Ewart.
Jo. Ballard.
Thomas Shore.
Richard Taylor.
Ed. Gubbin.
Thomas Leturvel.
George Hammersley.
William Frith.
Jo. Hale.
Robert Johnston.
Cor. Donellan.
Theo. Bury.
Hu. Galbraith.
William Ross.
John Galbraith.
Matthew Young.
James Delap.
William Ball.
Jo. Smith.

No. 20.—Derry to King William.

May it please your Majesty,

Having made the most humble, hearty, and sincere tender of our loyalty and duty to your Majesty, by the hands of your Majesty's most faithful subject and servant Colonel George Walker, we did not think it would again be easily excusable to importune your Majesty by any other writing of that kind; but the Lord General of your Majesty's army, and General Governor his Grace the Duke of Schomberg, having transmitted hither your Majesty's letter of the 26 [16th] of August last, it so raised and transported us, that we could scarce believe our eyes to see or ears to hear, what is contained therein: and we should be as stupid and sense-less as the walls we governed, if silent on so extraordinary occasion, for certainly never did so great a Prince condescend so much to a poor handful of his unworthy subjects. Never was sovereignty and goodness, the wisdom of a King, and bowels of a Father of the people, better manifested and exemplified, than by this example your Majesty set to posterity, the like perhaps not known to former ages. Your Majesty without our motion or application, hath at once outdone and prevented our expectations; nay, almost our very wishes. Your Majesty mentions services, to the performance of which our necessities and extremity of dangers, as well as our loyalty, compelled us, and placed such a high value on them, as all our lives had they been spent therein would be too mean to answer. What shall we say on an occasion, for which we can find no suitable words or expressions? even thus much truly, that those lives which your Majesty, out of your transcendant goodness, is pleased to take care of and to provide for in measure, so infinitely exceeding their worth, shall with all imaginable cheerfulness, resolution, and loyalty, be laid down in your Majesty's service, whensoever your affairs can be advantaged thereby. In the mean time, that your Majesty may be ever happy, and may triumph over your enemies by your victorious arms, and ever be blest with obedient and faithful subjects, shall be some of those prayers which the soldiers and citizens of this poor city daily and devoutly send to Heaven on your Majesty's behalf; and which we shall never be so impious and ingrateful as to neglect or omit, being most entirely and resolvedly

Your Majesty's dutiful, faithful, and humble
Subjects and Servants.

Hazell, Watson, and Viney, Printers, London and Aylesbury.

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